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The letters of Cicero :the whole extant



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THE LETTERS OF CICERO

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THE LETTERS OF
CICERO

THE WHOLE EXTANT CORRESPONDENCE
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES

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PREFACE

I HAVE inserted in the correspondence of this volume a letter which is not usually so included, namely, that addressed by Antony to Hirtius and Octavian, and preserved, as it seems, in its entirety, in the thirteenth Philippic. It falls easily into its place, and is nearly the only statement we have of Antony's view of the political situation during his siege of Mutina.

I take this opportunity of giving a list of additions and corrections which I hope my readers will make in the text of the translation and notes. Most of them I have discovered myself, but some have been pointed out by friends and by critics in the press. Secondly, I have put together the alterations of the text which I have made by my own conjecture.

I. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Vol. I., p. vii, l. 22, *for* "Hebenden" *read* "Heberden."
,, p. vii, l. 24, *for* "discovered since" *read* "omitted by them."
,, p. xxviii, l. 9, *for* "feverously" *read* "feverishly."
,, p. xlv, l. 19, *for* "crops" *read* "crop."
,, p. 62, l. 16, *before* "which" *insert* "an eighth."
,, p. 64, l. 24, *before* "What if" *insert* "What advantage to me his doing so is I do not know: it is certainly good for the state."
,, p. 65, l. 16, *for* "equites" *read* "publicani."
,, p. 66, note 1, *for* 'Απολλόνιος *read* 'Απολλώνιος.
,, p. 89, l. 20, *after* "Alexandria" *insert* "and the rest of Egypt."
,, p. 93, l. 2, *for* "you when" *read* "when you."
,, p. 96, Letter XXXV, *for* "May" *read* "April."
,, pp. 99-100, *for* "12 April," "18th April," and "12 April," *read in all cases* "19th April."
,, p. 104, l. 11, *after* "town" *insert* "escaped from society I when I have fallen in with such fellows as these!"

- Vol. I., p. 122, l. 15, for "5th" read "13th."
 „ p. 253, for "(A IV, I)" read "(A IV, II.)"
 „ p. 283, last l., for "*munuibus*" read "*muneribus*."
 „ p. 327, note, for *loa* read *loā*.
 „ p. 347, note, transpose "*Laberius*" and "*Valerius*."
 Vol. II., p. 94, l. 18, for "is" read "are."
 „ p. 120, l. 13, for "*Papinius*" read "*Papirius*."
 „ p. 126, l. 25, for "the centurion Hermon's servant" read "Hermon the servant of the centurion Caruleius."
 „ p. 140, note 1, for "B.C. 86" read "B.C. 95."
 „ p. 179, in headline, for "A IV" read "A VI."
 „ p. 196, note, for "*sacerdotes*" read "*pontifices*."
 „ p. 215, l. 2, for "*Alexis*" read "*Alexion*."
 „ p. 219, l. 13, for "by Cæsar, why was it not defended by his," read "then, why was it not defended by Cæsar's."
 „ p. 245, headline, for "A VI" read "A VII."
 „ p. 282, note, last l., for "*Pylæ*" read "*Phyle*."
 „ p. 311, note, for "*Rubilius*" read "*Rutilius*."
 „ p. 330, note 3, l. 3, for "*Cicero*" read "*Dec. Brutus*."
 „ p. 341, l. 13, for "is" read "are."
 Vol. III., p. v, insert "Fam. v, 16 . . . 527"; dele "Fam. VI, 16 . . . 527."
 „ p. vi, dele "Fam. XI, 22 . . . 647."
 „ p. vii, insert "Fam. XVI, 22 . . . 647."
 „ p. 64, for "F XIII, 3" read "F XIII, 13."
 „ p. 95, note, dele "Metellus—capture"; insert "P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther (Cos. B.C. 57), Cicero's correspondent, was refused admission to Rhodes after Pharsalia, and was probably murdered about the same time as Pompey (13 *Phil.* § 29)."
 „ p. 175, l. 1, for "*Gargettus*" read "*Gargettian*."
 „ p. 217, l. 3, for "his" read "her."
 „ p. 269, note 3, l. 8, for "DCXII." read "DCXVI."
 „ p. 273, l. 4, before "into" insert "from Epidaurus."
 „ p. 282, last l., after "him" insert "at Sunium."
 „ p. 313, heading of Letter DCXLVII, for "F XI." read "F XVI."
 „ p. 361, last l. but one, for "poet" read "friend."
 „ p. 372, under B.C. 69, for "*Criticus*" read "*Creticus*."
 Vol. IV., p. 1, for "(F VI, I)" read "(F XI, I)."
 „ p. 68, for "(A XV, 10)" read "(A XV, 11)."
 „ p. 79, l. 22, after "again" insert "?". In note 2, for "*C. Lutatius*" read "*Q.*"
 „ p. 136, note 8, for "*Quintus*" read "*Lucius*."
 „ p. 194, l. 3, before "*Sextus*" insert "*C. Anneius*."
 „ p. 202, for "(F XII, 1)" read "(F XII, 6)."
 „ p. 291, for "(F XI, 31)" read "(F XI, 24)."
 „ p. 307, for "(BRUT. I, 10)" read "(BRUT. I, 9)."
 „ p. 308, l. 18, before "brevity" insert "Spartan."

II. EMENDATIONS OF THE TEXT PROPOSED BY THE TRANSLATOR.

- Vol. I., p. 14 (A I, 1), *for* "quæ cum erit absolute, sane facile eum libenter nunc ceteri consuli acciderim," *I have read* "quæ cum erit absoluta sane facile ac libenter fieri consulem viderim."
- „ p. 127 (Q. FR. 1, 2, § 5), *for* "prope quam civitatem suam," *I have given* "quam pro civitate sua."
- „ p. 326 (A IV, 18, in Klotz, IV, 16, § 12), from the Greek of the MSS. ΟΥΚΟΙΜΠΙCΑΜΦΙΗΙ, Klotz has conjectured, οὐ σ' οἶδ' Ἀρης ἤμα Παφίη. *I have given*, οὐ σοὶ κεν ἄρ' ἰσά μ' ἀφείη (or ἀφίη).
- Vol. II., p. 10 (A V, 4), "aufers" *for* "aufer."
- „ p. 32 (A V, 11), "nummariam excusationem" *for* "νομμανδρίαν excusationem."
- „ p. 103 (F XV, 4), "et fretus iis" *for* "ego tuto iis." (In the tr. the word "all" should be omitted.)
- „ p. 278 (A VIII, 2), "non ita multi" *for* "ita multi."
- Vol. III., p. 18 (A XI, 7), *for* "arbitratus est ea factum igitur, ut scribis, istis placere iisdem istis lictoribus nec uti, quod concessum Sestio sit," *I have read* "arbitratus es. Itane est, ut scribis, istis placere eisdem lictoribus nec uti, quod concessum Sestio sit?"
- „ p. 43 (A XI, 35), *for* "apud epistolas velim ut possim adversas," *I have read* "apud Vestales velim depositum adservari."
- „ p. 85 (A XII, 3), *for* "clypo" *I read* "Q. Pedio."
- „ p. 244 (A XII, 40), "non est solvendo" *for* "non est in eo."
- „ p. 334 (A XIII, 51), "nimis blandus" *for* "micillus."
- Vol. IV., p. 54 (A XV, 3), "Manlio" *for* "malo."
- „ p. 60 (A XV, 5), ὁ θεσανυρὸς ἀνθρακες *for* ὅτε ναῦς ἀνθρακες.
- „ p. 86 (A XV, 25), *for* "et tu etiam scite quo die olim piaculum, mysteria scilicet. Utut sit res . . ." *I read* "Velim etiam scire quo die Olympia sint. Ut tu scribis, . . ."
- „ p. 91 (A XV, 26), *for* "tuli luminarum ædium" *I read* "Tullianarum ædium."
- „ p. 99 (A XVI, 1), "dare manus" *for* "ad arma."
- „ p. 250 (BR. I, 17), "desperatum" *for* "desperatam."
- „ p. 261 (F X, 17), "Segellaunis" *suggested for* "Segaviano."

LETTERS IN VOLUMES I-IV

(The small figures indicate the volumes of the translation)

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
F. I.		F. III.		F. V.	
1	94 ¹	3	190 ²	7	12 ¹
2	95 ¹	4	193 ²	8	130 ¹
3	96 ¹	5	204 ²	9	636 ³
4	97 ¹	6	212 ²	10	693 ³
5	98 ¹	7	243 ²	10 a	675 ³
5 b	102 ¹	8	221 ²	11	673 ³
6	103 ¹	9	248 ²	12	108 ¹
7	113 ¹	10	260 ²	13	571 ³
8	118 ¹	11	264 ²	14	584 ³
9	152 ¹	12	274 ²	15	586 ³
10	161 ¹	13	276 ²	16	527 ³
				17	178 ¹
F. II.		F. IV.		18	179 ¹
1	165 ¹	1	386 ²	19	389 ²
2	167 ¹	2	388 ²	20	301 ²
3	168 ¹	3	492 ³	21	456 ³
4	174 ¹	4	493 ³		
5	175 ¹	5	554 ³	F. VI.	
6	176 ¹	6	573 ³	1	537 ³
7	226 ²	7	484 ³	2	574 ³
8	200 ²	8	483 ³	3	538 ³
9	223 ²	9	485 ³	4	539 ³
10	224 ²	10	535 ³	5	532 ³
11	254 ²	11	494 ³	6	486 ³
12	262 ²	12	612 ³	7	531 ³
13	256 ²	13	481 ³	8	525 ³
14	244 ²	14	534 ³	9	526 ³
15	272 ²	15	482 ³	10 §§ 1-3	490 ³
16	393 ²			10 §§ 4-6	489 ³
17	271 ²	F. V.		11	619 ³
18	257 ²	1	13 ¹	12	488 ³
19	261 ²	2	14 ¹	13	487 ³
		3	112 ¹	14	496 ³
F. III.		4	88 ¹	15	696 ⁴
1	180 ¹	5	17 ¹	16	698 ⁴
2	182 ²	6	15 ¹	17	708 ⁴

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
F. VI.		F. VIII.		F. X.	
18	533 ³	7	242 ²	8	830 ⁴
19	645 ³	8	222 ²	9	842 ⁴
20	642 ³	9	210 ²	10	831 ⁴
21	572 ³	10	225 ²	11	845 ⁴
22	463 ³	11	266 ²	12	835 ⁴
		12	278 ²	13	854 ⁴
F. VII.		13	270 ²	14	849 ⁴
1	126 ¹	14	279 ²	15	856 ⁴
2	181 ¹	15	343 ²	16	877 ⁴
3	462 ³	16	382 ²	17	867 ⁴
4	501 ³	17	406 ³	18	866 ⁴
5	133 ¹			19	875 ⁴
6	135 ¹	F. IX.		20	880 ⁴
7	136 ¹	1	454 ³	21 §§ 1-6	857 ⁴
8	139 ¹	2	459 ³	21 § 7	858 ⁴
9	144 ¹	3	458 ³	22	901 ⁴
10	160 ¹	4	464 ³	23	890 ⁴
11	166 ¹	5	461 ³	24	911 ⁴
12	169 ¹	6	468 ³	25	876 ⁴
13	170 ¹	7	460 ³	26	902 ⁴
14	171 ¹	8	638 ³	27	824 ⁴
15	173 ¹	9	407 ³	28	816 ⁴
16	156 ¹	10	536 ³	29	906 ⁴
17	145 ¹	11	575 ³	30	838 ⁴
18	172 ¹	12	676 ³	31	821 ⁴
19	773 ⁴	13	542 ³	32	891 ⁴
20	771 ⁴	14	719 ⁴	33	886 ⁴
21	757 ⁴	15	479 ³	34 §§ 1-2	865 ⁴
22	758 ⁴	16	470 ³	34 §§ 3-4	872 ⁴
23	125 ¹	17	478 ³	35	881 ⁴
24	662 ³	18	471 ³		
25	665 ³	19	476 ³	F. XI.	
26	93 ¹	20	473 ³	1	697 ⁴
27	474 ³	21	495 ³	2	737 ⁴
28	475 ³	22	631 ³	3	779 ⁴
29	674 ³	23	502 ³	4	793 ⁴
30	691 ³	24	817 ⁴	5	806 ⁴
31	694 ³	25	245 ²	6	809 ⁴
32	228 ²	26	477 ³	7	808 ⁴
33	472 ³			8	813 ⁴
		F. X.		9	844 ⁴
F. VIII.		1	784 ⁴	10	850 ⁴
1	191 ²	2	785 ⁴	11	851 ⁴
2	195 ²	3	786 ⁴	12	859 ⁴
3	196 ²	4	805 ⁴	13 §§ 1-3	855 ⁴
4	205 ²	5	807 ⁴	13 §§ 4-5	895 ⁴
5	209 ²	6	823 ⁴	14	882 ⁴
6	241 ²	7	829 ⁴	15	900 ⁴

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
F. XI.		F. XIII.		F. XIII.	
16	884 ⁴	1	198 ²	47	p. 366 ³
17	885 ⁴	2	258 ²	48	p. 367 ³
18	867 ⁴	3	259 ²	49	162 ¹
19	871 ⁴	4	669 ³	50	692 ³
20	873 ⁴	5	670 ³	51	p. 366 ³
21	888 ⁴	6 a	114 ¹	52	p. 368 ³
22	907 ⁴	6 b	115 ¹	53	229 ²
23	874 ⁴	7	671 ³	54	252 ²
24	880 ⁴	8	672 ³	55	231 ²
25	898 ⁴	9	236 ²	56	230 ²
26	887 ⁴	10	449 ³	57	253 ²
27	781 ⁴	11	450 ³	58	247 ²
28	782 ⁴	12	451 ³	59	246 ²
29	759 ⁴	13	452 ³	60	163 ¹
		14	453 ³	61	232 ²
		15	570 ³	62	233 ²
F. XII.		16	543 ³	63	250 ²
1	720 ⁴	17	510 ³	64	234 ²
2	787 ⁴	18	511 ³	65	235 ²
3	788 ⁴	19	512 ³	66	504 ³
4	815 ⁴	20	513 ³	67	505 ³
5	818 ⁴	21	514 ³	68	480 ³
6	832 ⁴	22	515 ³	69	506 ³
7	820 ⁴	23	516 ³	70	507 ³
8	893 ⁴	24	517 ³	71	508 ³
9	646 ³	25	518 ³	72	509 ³
10	905 ⁴	26	519 ³	73	164 ¹
11	819 ⁴	27	520 ³	74	127 ¹
12	852 ⁴	28	521 ³	75	177 ¹
13	896 ⁴	28 a	522 ³	76	p. 363 ³
14	878 ⁴	29	455 ³	77	528 ³
15	879 ⁴	30	679 ³	78	523 ³
16	733 ⁴	31	680 ³	79	524 ³
17	491 ³	32	681 ³		
18	667 ³	33	682 ³	F. XIV.	
19	668 ³	34	683 ³	1	81 ¹
20	p. 367 ³	35	684 ³	2	78 ¹
21	695 ³	36	685 ³	3	83 ¹
22	810 ⁴	37	686 ³	4	61 ¹
23	789 ⁴	38	687 ³	5	282 ²
24	814 ⁴	39	688 ³	6	412 ³
25 §§ 1-5	822 ⁴	40	128 ¹	7	403 ²
25 §§ 6-7	847 ⁴	41	54 ¹	8	408 ³
26	826 ⁴	42	53 ¹	9	417 ³
27	827 ⁴	43	p. 364 ³	10	436 ³
28	825 ⁴	44	p. 364 ³	11	431 ³
29	828 ⁴	45	p. 365 ³	12	413 ³
30	894 ⁴	46	p. 365 ³	13	437 ³

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
F. XIV.		F. XVI.		Q. Fr. III.	
14	307 ²	13	p. 384 ¹	8	158 ¹
15	433 ³	14	p. 385 ¹	9	159 ¹
16	422 ³	15	p. 385 ¹		
17	419 ³	16	p. 387 ¹	Pet. Cons.	p. 367 ¹
18	305 ²	17	650 ³		
19	415 ³	18	689 ³	A. I.	
20	447 ³	19	652 ³	1	10 ¹
21	410 ³	20	690 ³	2	11 ¹
22	445 ³	21	783 ⁴	3	8 ¹
23	441 ³	22	647 ³	4	9 ¹
24	440 ³	23	751 ⁴	5	1 ¹
		24	803 ⁴	6	2 ¹
F. XV.		25	790 ⁴	7	3 ¹
1	220 ²	26	811 ⁴	8	5 ¹
2	218 ²	27	812 ⁴	9	4 ¹
3	211 ²			10	6 ¹
4	237 ²	Q. Fr. I.		11	7 ¹
5	265 ²	1	29 ¹	12	16 ¹
6	277 ²	2	52 ¹	13	18 ¹
7	213 ²	3	65 ¹	14	19 ¹
8	214 ²	4	71 ¹	15	20 ¹
9	215 ²			16	21 ¹
10	238 ²	Q. Fr. II.		17	22 ¹
11	273 ²	1	92 ¹	18	23 ¹
12	216 ²	2	99 ¹	19	24 ¹
13	239 ²	3	101 ¹	20	25 ¹
14	240 ²	4	104 ¹		
15	446 ³	5	105 ¹	A. II.	
16	530 ³	6	116 ¹	1	26 ¹
17	540 ³	7	119 ¹	2	27 ¹
18	529 ³	8	122 ¹	3	28 ¹
19	541 ³	9	131 ¹	4	30 ¹
20	699 ⁴	10	132 ¹	5	31 ¹
21	448 ³	11	134 ¹	6	32 ¹
		12	138 ¹	7	33 ¹
F. XVI.		13	140 ¹	8	34 ¹
1	284 ²	14	141 ¹	9	35 ¹
2	285 ²	15	146 ¹	10	37 ¹
3	286 ²			11	38 ¹
4	287 ²	Q. Fr. III.		12	36 ¹
5	288 ²	1	147 ¹	13	39 ¹
6	289 ²	2	149 ¹	14	40 ¹
7	290 ²	3	150 ¹	15	41 ¹
8	313 ²	4	151 ¹	16	42 ¹
9	291 ²	5	154 ¹	17	43 ¹
10	p. 386 ¹	6	155 ¹	18	44 ¹
11	300 ²	7		19	45 ¹
12	311 ²			20	46 ¹

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
A. II.		A. IV.		A. VII.	
21	47 ¹	11	123 ¹	5	295 ²
22	48 ¹	12	124 ¹	6	296 ²
23	49 ¹	13	129 ¹	7	297 ²
24	50 ¹	14	137 ¹	8	298 ²
25	51 ¹	15	143 ¹	9	299 ²
		16 }	142, 148 ¹	10	302 ²
A. III.		17 }	157 ¹	11	303 ²
1	58 ¹	18	153 ¹	12	304 ²
2	56 ¹			13 a	306 ²
3	55 ¹	A. V.		13 b	308 ²
4	57 ¹	1	183 ²	14	309 ²
5	59 ¹	2	184 ²	15	310 ²
6	60 ¹	3	185 ²	16	312 ²
7	62 ¹	4	186 ²	17	314 ²
8	63 ¹	5	187 ²	18	315 ²
9	64 ¹	6	188 ²	19	316 ²
10	66 ¹	7	189 ²	20	317 ²
11	67 ¹	8	192 ²	21	318 ²
12	68 ¹	9	194 ²	22	319 ²
13	70 ¹	10	197 ²	23	320 ²
14	69 ¹	11	199 ²	24	322 ²
15	72 ¹	12	201 ²	25	323 ²
16	73 ¹	13	202 ²	26	325 ²
17	74 ¹	14	203 ²		
18	75 ¹	15	206 ²	A. VIII.	
19	76 ¹	16	207 ²	1	327 ²
20	77 ¹	17	208 ²	2	331 ²
21	79 ¹	18	217 ²	3	332 ²
22	80 ¹	19	219 ²	4	334 ²
23	82 ¹	20	227 ²	5	335 ²
24	84 ¹	21	249 ²	6	336 ²
25	85 ¹			7	337 ²
26	86 ¹	A. VI.		8	338 ²
27	87 ¹	1	251 ²	9	339 ²
		2	255 ²	10	340 ²
A. IV.		3	263 ²	11	341 ²
1	89 ¹	4	267 ²	11 a	321 ²
2	90 ¹	5	268 ²	11 b	326 ²
3	91 ¹	6	275 ²	11 c	333 ²
4 a	100 ¹	7	269 ²	11 d	342 ²
4 b	106 ¹	8	280 ²	12	344 ²
5	107 ¹	9	281 ²	12 a	330 ²
6	109 ¹			12 b	324 ²
7	110 ¹	A. VII.		12 c	328 ²
8 a	111 ¹	1	283 ²	12 d	329 ²
8 b	117 ¹	2	292 ²	13	347 ²
9	121 ¹	3	293 ²	14	348 ²
10	120 ¹	4	294 ²	15	349 ²

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
A. VIII.		A. X.		A. XII.	
15 a	345 ²	12	396 ²	12	555 ³
16	351 ²	13	397 ²	13	544 ³
A. IX.		14	398 ²	14	545 ³
1	352 ²	15	399 ²	15	546 ³
2	354 ²	16	400 ²	16	547 ³
2 a	355 ²	17	401 ²	17	549 ³
3	357 ²	18	402 ²	18	548 ³
4	360 ²	A. XI.		18 a	550 ³
5	358 ²	1	404 ³	19	551 ³
6	359 ²	2	405 ³	20	552 ³
6 a	356 ²	3	409 ³	21	556 ³
7	361 ²	4	411 ³	22	557 ³
7 a	350 ²	5	414 ³	23	558 ³
7 b	353 ²	6	416 ³	24	559 ³
7 c	346 ²	7	418 ³	25	560 ³
8	362 ²	8	420 ³	26	561 ³
9	363 ²	9	421 ³	27	562 ³
10	364 ²	10	423 ³	28	563 ³
11	366 ²	11	424 ³	29	564 ³
11 a	365 ²	12	425 ³	30	566 ³
12	367 ²	13	426 ³	31 §§ 1-2	568 ³
13	368 ²	14	427 ³	31 § 3	567 ³
13 § 8	370 ²	15	428 ³	32	565 ³
13 a	369 ²	16	429 ³	33	569 ³
14	371 ²	17	430 ³	34	576 ³
15	372 ²	18	432 ³	35 § 1	577 ³
16	373 ²	19	438 ³	35 § 2	578 ³
17	374 ²	20	442 ³	36	579 ³
18	375 ²	21	443 ³	37 §§ 1-3	580 ³
19	376 ²	22	444 ³	37 § 4	581 ³
A. X.		23	435 ³	38 §§ 1-2	582 ³
1	377 ²	24	439 ³	38 §§ 3-4	583 ³
2	378 ²	25	434 ³	39	587 ³
3	379 ²	A. XII.		40	588 ³
3 a	380 ²	1	503 ³	41	589 ³
4	381 ²	2	457 ³	42 §§ 1-3	594 ³
5	383 ²	3	466 ³	42 § 3	591 ³
6	385 ²	4	467 ³	43	592 ³
7	387 ²	5 § 1	469 ³	44	593 ³
8	391 ²	5 § 2	611 ³	45 § 1	596 ³
8 a	390 ²	5 § 4	465 ³	45 §§ 2-3	
8 b	384 ²	6	497 ³	46	
9	392 ²	7	498 ³	47 § 1	
9 a	382 ² *	8	499 ³	47 § 2	
10	394 ²	9	646 ³	47 § 3	
11	395 ²	10	648 ³	48 § 1	
		11	500 ³	48 § 2	
				49	

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
A. XII.		A. XIII.		A. XV.	
50	595 ³	34	644 ¹	1 a	727 ⁴
51	597 ³	35 }	640 ³	1 b	728 ⁴
52	598 ³	36 }		2	729 ⁴
53	599 ³	37	654 ³	3	730 ⁴
		38	655 ³	4 §§ 1-4	731 ⁴
		39	656 ³	4 § 5	732 ⁴
A. XIII.		40	657 ³	5	734 ⁴
1	600 ³	41	658 ³	6	735 ⁴
2 § 1	601 ³	42	678 ³	7	736 ⁴
2 § 2	605 ³	43	641 ³	8	738 ⁴
2 § 3 }	608 ³	44	643 ³	9	739 ⁴
3 § 1 }		45	659 ³	10	740 ⁴
3	610 ³	46	660 ³	11	741 ⁴
4	613 ³	47	661 ³	12	742 ⁴
5	614 ³	47 b	651 ³	13	791 ⁴
6 §§ 1-3	553 ³	48	653 ³	13 a	792 ⁴
6 § 4	616 ³	49	663 ³	14	755 ⁴
7	618 ³	50	664 ³	15	745 ⁴
8	617 ³	51	666 ³	16 a	743 ⁴
9	620 ³	52	676 ³	16 b	744 ⁴
10	621 ³			17	746 ⁴
11	622 ³	A. XIV.		18	747 ⁴
12	623 ³	1	700 ⁴	19	748 ⁴
13	624 ³	2	701 ⁴	20	749 ⁴
14	625 ³	3	702 ⁴	21	750 ⁴
15	626 ³	4	703 ⁴	22	752 ⁴
16	627 ³	5	704 ⁴	23	753 ⁴
17 }	628 ³	6	705 ⁴	24	754 ⁴
18 }		7	706 ⁴	25	756 ⁴
19	629 ³	8	707 ⁴	26	760 ⁴
20	632 ³	9	709 ⁴	27	761 ⁴
21 §§ 1-3	649 ³	10	710 ⁴	28	762 ⁴
21 §§ 4-7	630 ³	11	711 ⁴	29	765 ⁴
22	633 ³	12	712 ⁴		
23	635 ³	13	715 ⁴	A. XVI.	
24 }	637 ³	13 a	713 ⁴	1	766 ⁴
25 § 1 }		13 b	714 ⁴	2	769 ⁴
25 §§ 2-3	639 ³	14	716 ⁴	3	770 ⁴
26	590 ³	15	717 ⁴	4	768 ⁴
27	602 ³	16	718 ⁴	5	767 ⁴
28 }	603 ³	17	721 ⁴	6	772 ⁴
29 § 1 }		17 a	719 ⁴	7	780 ⁴
29 §§ 2-3	604 ³	18	723 ⁴	8	794 ⁴
30	607 ³	19	722 ⁴	9	795 ⁴
31	606 ³	20	724 ⁴	10	798 ⁴
32	609 ³	21	725 ⁴	11	796 ⁴
33 §§ 1-3	615 ³	22	726 ⁴	12	797 ⁴
33 §§ 4-5	634 ³				
IV.					

	Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation		Number in this Translation
A. XVI.		Brut. I.		Brut. I.	
13 a	799 ⁴	2 §§ 3-6	840 ⁴	16	860 ⁴
13 b	800 ⁴	3 §§ 1-3	841 ⁴	17	861 ⁴
13 c	801 ⁴	3 § 4	843 ⁴	18	910 ⁴
14	802 ⁴	4 §§ 1-3	853 ⁴		
15	804 ⁴	4 §§ 3-6	862 ⁴	Brut. II. ¹	
16	763 ⁴	5	848 ⁴	1	833 ⁴
16 a	764 ⁴	6	863 ⁴	2	836 ⁴
16 b	774 ⁴	7	864 ⁴	3	834 ⁴
16 c	775 ⁴	8	883 ⁴	4	837 ⁴
16 d	776 ⁴	9	897 ⁴	5	839 ⁴
16 e	777 ⁴	10	892 ⁴		
16 f	778 ⁴	11	846 ⁴	Ad Oct.	p. 329 ⁴
		12	904 ⁴		
Brut. I.		13	903 ⁴		
I	869 ⁴	14	908 ⁴	13 Phil.	} 824 a ⁴
2 §§ 1-2	870 ⁴	15	909 ⁴	§§ 22-46	

¹ According to the arrangement in the Teubner edition of 1898. In earlier editions the letters here marked 3=5 and 3; 4=4 and 6; 5=7.

INTRODUCTION

THE letters in this volume bring us to the end of the correspondence and to the last period of Cicero's life. They naturally fall into two divisions, those following the assassination of Cæsar to September, B.C.

First period of the letters, pp. 1-128.
From 15th of March to 31st of August.

44—five months of hesitation and doubt—and those which begin after Cicero's return to Rome from his abortive start for Greece (31st August), and bring him before us once more active and eager, all doubt and

hesitation thrown to the winds. He is straining every nerve to organize opposition to Antony, whom he has now made up his mind to be the enemy of the constitution and of liberty—a weaker and a worse Cæsar, trading on his great patron's name, intoxicated with the wealth that has fallen into his hands, and stained with every private and public vice.

The first period is one of disenchantment, the second of desperate strife. The disenchantment indeed begins at once. The volume opens with a note, scarcely more than a line in length, addressed to one of the assassins, of almost hysterical exultation. Cicero had been in the senate when the assassination took place: ¹ he tells us of the "joy with which he feasted his eyes on the just execution of a tyrant." ² He again and again declares that the *Ides of March* consoled him for all troubles and disappointments.³ The assassins he calls "heroes" or almost divinities.⁴ But the uselessness of this treacherous crime was at once made evident, and

¹ This has been doubted, but I think his own expressions make it practically certain.

² P. 29 (*ad Att.* xiv. 14).

³ Pp. 8, 11, 26, 29, 34.

⁴ Pp. 28, 91.

became more and more conspicuous every day that followed it. Within a month Cicero saw that "the constitution had not been recovered along with liberty,"¹ and was discussing with Atticus whose fault it was. At the meeting of the senate, summoned by Antony on the 17th of March, the *acta* of Cæsar had been confirmed, and a public funeral voted.² The revulsion of popular feeling, caused by Antony's funeral oration and the publication of Cæsar's will, had encouraged Antony to make the fullest use of the confirmation of the *acta*, until Cicero indignantly exclaimed that the concession made to the exigencies of the time was "being abused without moderation or gratitude,"³ that "measures which Cæsar would never have taken nor sanctioned are now produced from his forged minutes," and that "we, who could not endure being his slaves, are the humble servants of his memorandum books."⁴

Added to this was the increasing difficulty of the position of the leaders in the assassination. Decimus Brutus indeed, in spite of Antony's protest, went to his province of Gallia Cisalpina and took over the command of the troops there; while Trebonius started for his province of Asia, having a secret understanding with the Ciceronian party that he was to concert measures and collect forces in view of future contingencies. But M. Brutus and C. Cassius, though prætors, could not venture to Rome, and Antony was eventually able to force the senate to name others to the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, to which they had been respectively nominated by Cæsar: while Trebonius could only leave Italy for his province by travelling almost in disguise by by-roads to the coast.⁵ Every day that passed seemed to shew that they would have to fight for their position or even their lives. Antony was gathering a considerable force in Rome, under the pretence of a bodyguard, and against an

¹ Pp. 9, 10, 11, 20, 28, 42, 48, 55.

² P. 17.

³ P. 37.

⁴ Pp. 27, 28; cp. p. 36: "We seemed not to have been freed from a tyranny—only from a tyrant: for though the tyrant has been killed we obey his every word . . . immunities are being granted; immense sums of money squandered; exiles recalled; forged decrees of the senate entered in the *ærarium*."

⁵ P. 16.

alleged intention of Brutus and Cassius to resort to force. This bodyguard was partly at least formed by inducing Cæsar's veterans to rejoin, and was continually increasing.¹ Even those veterans who did not actually rejoin the colours were persuaded to hold themselves in readiness for a summons, with their proper arms provided, and at any rate to be prepared to come to Rome to vote in favour of Antony's proposals.² Besides this Antony extorted from the senate early in June, if not before, the command of the legions which had been stationed in the province of Macedonia with a view to the Getic and Parthian expeditions, and presently sent over his brother Gaius to bring them to Italy. Brutus and Cassius on their part were collecting ships and men, resolved to possess themselves of the provinces originally assigned to them (Macedonia and Syria) at the end of their prætorship; Decimus Brutus by engaging his forces against the Alpine tribes was training troops which he might use against any "intending successor,"³ and all things pointed to a coming struggle. "In my opinion," says Cicero on the 15th of June, "the state of affairs points to bloodshed and that at an early date. You see what the men are, you see how they are arming."⁴

Matters had been farther complicated by the appearance of the young Octavian on the scene. He had been sent by his uncle for the winter to Apollonia, where he might with less interruption than at Rome pursue his studies and perfect his military education. But immediately he received from his mother the news of the Dictator's assassination, he started with a small retinue of friends for Italy. On the 11th of April Cicero writes that he has heard of his arrival and is anxious to know how he has been received.⁵ On the 18th he came to Naples, saw Balbus, and declared his acceptance of his great-uncle's inheritance, which was sure to cause, Balbus thinks, much bad blood between him and Antony, who had laid hands on much which Octavian would claim, on the ground that it was public money.⁶ In a letter of the 22nd Cicero describes a meeting with him at the villa of his stepfather

¹ Pp. 7-8, 17, 48, 64, 75.

⁴ P. 77.

² P. 45.

⁵ P. 10.

³ P. 145.

⁶ P. 18.

Philippus near Puteoli. He watched to see how he was addressed by his friends. They all called him Cæsar, in virtue of his adoption in the will of his great-uncle. But Philippus—who wished him to refuse the inheritance—did not do so. Cicero therefore also refrained, but anxiously observed his disposition towards the party of Antony. The young man appears to have been characteristically cautious, speaking of the existing state of things indeed as “intolerable,” but not suggesting his views as to their remedy or committing himself to anything. Cicero was doubtful. He mistrusted the friends surrounding him, who would make it “impossible for him to be a good citizen,” and he felt indignant at his being able to go safely to the city from which Brutus and Cassius and the other “heroes” were excluded. Still he could not but acknowledge that Octavian treated him personally with respect,¹ and he presently began to cherish a hope that he might use his grievances against Antony to draw him into closer union with the party of the Optimates. But this hope was a good deal dashed early in May by the report of a speech delivered in Rome by Octavian, in which he spoke in glowing terms of his great-uncle, declared his intention of paying the legacies to the citizens, and celebrating the games which he had promised.² However, Cicero did not give up hope of him, and his final verdict at this period is distinctly rather favourable :

*In Octavianus, as I have perceived, there is no little ability and spirit, and he seems likely to be as well disposed to our heroes as I could wish. But what confidence one can feel in a man of his age, name, inheritance, and upbringing may well give us pause. His stepfather, whom I have seen at Astura, thinks none at all. However, we must foster him, and, if nothing else, keep him apart from Antony. Marcellus will be doing admirable service if he gives him good advice. Octavian seemed to me to be devoted to him : but he has no great confidence in Pansa and Hirtius. His disposition is good if it does but last.*³

It will be observed that Cicero now speaks of the young man as Octavianus, thus acknowledging his adoption. He

¹ P. 21.

² Pp. 45-46, 52.

³ Pp. 71-72.

also seems now or soon after to have begun a correspondence with him, unfortunately lost, which later on became almost more continuous than he quite relished. For the present he was only one of the agents whom he hoped to use against Antony. Like so many of his hopes, this too was doomed to disappointment. Octavian was determined to maintain his rights against Antony, but in his heart was no thought of permanent friendship with the clique which had murdered his uncle and adoptive father, and was anxious above all things to retain the direction of the state and the wealth of the provinces in its hands.

Another cause of anxiety which Cicero had in this first half of the year was the uncertainty of the line likely to be taken by Pansa and Hirtius, who were consuls-designate and would come into office on the 1st of January, B.C. 43. Of Hirtius especially, who had been Cæsar's intimate friend and trusted officer, he was more than doubtful. It was true that he had been on good social terms with Cicero, had taken lessons in rhetoric from him, and in return had initiated him in the art of dining. But at the end of a visit of Hirtius at his villa at Puteoli, Cicero writes to Atticus (17th May):

When Hirtius was leaving my house at Puteoli on the 16th of May, I had a clear view of his whole mind. For I took him aside and exhorted him earnestly to preserve the peace. He could not of course say that he did not wish for peace: but he indicated that he was no less afraid of our side appealing to arms than of Antony doing so: and that, after all, both sides had reason to be on their guard, but that he feared the arms of both. I needn't go on: there is nothing sound about him.¹

This mistrust of Hirtius was not much relieved by a letter which he wrote to Cicero a few days later, begging him to warn Brutus and Cassius to keep quiet.² Pansa, though using more satisfactory language, did not appear to Cicero to be much more trustworthy.³ A severe illness put Hirtius aside for some time from active intervention in politics, but

¹ Pp. 47-48.

² P. 62.

³ P. 83.

the future tenure of the consulship by these two men did not in the first half of the year inspire Cicero with much hope. Still, it was not likely to be as bad as the policy of Antony; and when the meeting of the senate of the 1st of June, so far from producing a compromise which would satisfy Brutus and Cassius, actually irritated them farther by offering them for the rest of the year the inferior office of *curatores annonæ*, and changing their prætorian provinces for the next year, Cicero could only look forward to the 1st of January as the time when it might be proper for him once more to attend the senate and take part in politics. Meanwhile he was meditating a tour to Athens, both for the sake of withdrawing himself from possible collisions with Antony, and in order to visit his son, whose first year as a student there had given Cicero much anxiety, but who was now shewing signs of improvement, and might be confirmed in better ways by the personal influence of an indulgent father.

But, as usual with Cicero, this step caused him much searching of heart and many weeks of hesitation and irresolution. As usual also, all his doubts and difficulties are imparted to Atticus, whose advice is constantly asked, and somewhat querulously criticised when given. Cicero was torn different ways by the reflexion that a departure from Italy at this time might be regarded as a desertion of his party and his country: that in his absence some blow might be struck for liberty, the credit of which he should be sorry not to share. On the other hand, as long as Antony was consul things would most likely remain as they were, and he would be personally safer out of the country, and would be doing his duty in visiting his son. But he was a wretched sailor, the long voyage was odious to him, and especially one that would have to be taken late in the year, if he was to be back in Rome before the beginning of the new consulate. Again, he would have liked to sail with Brutus; but Brutus was delaying indefinitely, and besides, did not receive the suggestion very warmly. After one abortive start (1st August), on which he got as far as Syracuse, he again set sail from Leucopetra on the 6th of August. But the south wind was too strong and the ship put back to

Cicero's voyage
to Greece begun
and abandoned
(July-August).

Rhegium.¹ There Cicero stayed in a friend's villa for the night and heard next day what he thought was good news.² There was to be a full meeting of the senate on the 1st of September, for Brutus and Cassius—still in Italy—had issued an edict urging the attendance of their partisans, and it was believed that they had come to some understanding with Antony, whereby they would be able to resume their position at Rome and take up their provinces at the end of their year's prætorship. The men who gave Cicero this intelligence also told him that he was wanted, and that his absence was being unfavourably criticised.³

This was precisely what Cicero wished to hear, and we may be sure that he did not make very curious inquiries as to the authenticity of the report, or the means of knowing the truth possessed by his informants. He regarded himself as "recalled by the voice of the Republic," and blessed the south winds for having saved him from deserting his country in its need. He visited Brutus at Velia on his way to Rome, and no doubt heard from him what somewhat cooled his ardour. He determined, however, to continue his return to Tusculum, though with no definite intention of taking as yet any leading part in politics, or indeed of attending the senate at all. But the state of affairs which he found existing at Rome on his arrival on the 31st of August soon dispelled any ideas of repose, and drew him into the final storm and stress of political contest, from which he was not free when the correspondence ceases, and which brought him finally to the grave.

The meeting of the senate on the 1st of September, for the sake of which Cicero professed to have come to Rome, was not attended by him. Among the *agenda* at that meeting he found that there was included a motion of Antony's for a *supplicatio* in honour of Cæsar's memory. To this, of course, Cicero objected on political grounds; but he also advanced the technical objection that it was mixing up funeral rites with divine worship (*parentalia* with *supplica-*

¹ I *Phil.* § 7.

² P. 119.

³ See pp. 119-120, 131. He says that he also had a copy of a *contio* of Antony's, as well as the edict of Brutus and Cassius, which he mentions in the letter.

tiones), and he was at any rate determined not to vote for it, and did not wish to exasperate Antony by voting against it.¹ There was to be also some farther confirmation of Cæsar's *acta*, which would be equally objectionable in Cicero's eyes, because it meant the production of more of Cæsar's memoranda and notes, which he believed to be falsified or altogether invented by Antony himself. He therefore abstained from attending the senate, but did not thereby avoid exasperating Antony. His arrival in Rome was of course known to Antony, who regarded his excuse of fatigue after his journey as a mere pretext (which it was), and threatened openly in the senate not only to use his consular power of compelling his attendance, but to send a gang of workmen to demolish his house.

On the 2nd of September therefore Cicero attended and made a statement of his position and views, which has come down to us as the *first Philippic*. It is a dignified and comparatively gentle statement of his case against Antony. But it puts clearly his belief as to the abuse by him of the confirmation of Cæsar's *acta*, passed by the senate on the 17th of March. It recalls Antony's own measures of which Cicero approved—especially the abolition of the dictatorship and the suppression of the riots round the memorial column—and appeals to him to keep within the lines of the constitution, and to trust to the affection rather than the fears of his fellow citizens. There is an absence of personal invective and insult, which shews that Cicero was not yet prepared to throw away the scabbard in his contest with Antony, though he had long seen that his existence made the murder of Cæsar vain and useless. The tyrant was dead, not the tyranny; the assassins had acted with the courage of heroes, but the folly of children, and left the heir to the tyranny alive.² Yet he remained on tolerably courteous terms with Antony, and even requested a *legatio* from him.³ But that was to be over for ever.

Antony's reply to the first Philippic, delivered after much preparation on the 19th of September, and containing every kind of invective against Cicero's life, policy, and

¹ 1 *Phil.* § 13.

² Pp. 45-46, 54.

³ P. 65.

public conduct, drew from Cicero the terrible *second Philippic*, which, though never delivered, was handed about among all kinds of people who cared to read it. It made all reconciliation, however formal or official, for ever impossible. From that time forward the letters shew us Cicero in determined and unhesitating opposition to Antony. For some weeks still he is doubtful as to what practical steps he is to take, but he has no more hesitation as to what his political object is to be: it is to crush Antony by any and every means within his power. The letters henceforth are more and more exclusively political. Though references to private affairs and to literary questions, connected with the *de Officiis*, still occur in the letters to Atticus, even they are almost monopolized by the one absorbing subject. He still expresses gratitude to philosophy, "which not only diverts me from anxious thoughts, but also arms me against all assaults of fortune"¹—but literature and philosophy in the old sense are over for him: and when for a moment he touches on lighter subjects to Pætus,² he hastens to excuse himself: "Don't suppose because I write jestingly I have cast off all care for the state. Be assured, my dear Pætus, that I work for nothing, care for nothing all day and night except the safety and freedom of my fellow citizens."

The final step on Antony's part which made war inevitable in Cicero's view was connected with the six Macedonian legions. He had—as The legions from Macedonia. I have said—earlier in the year obtained from the senate the command of these legions on the plea that the Getæ were threatening Macedonia. One of them he gave over to his colleague Dolabella, one was to be left to guard Macedonia, which he intended should be governed by his brother Gaius at the end of his prætorship. The other four he regarded as being at his own disposal for his provincial governorship, to begin in January, B.C. 43. This he now resolved should be Cisalpine Gaul. The senate refused to assign him this province, but he got it by a *lex* carried in spite of the senate; and

¹ P. 140.² P. 178.

Gaius was sent to bring over the legions. On the 9th of October he started to meet them at Brundisium.¹ There he found them in a mutinous state, and had recourse to great severity in order to reduce them to obedience. Two of them, the Martia and the fourth legion, were ordered to march up the coast road to Ariminum in readiness to enter Gallia Cisalpina with him; the rest he led himself towards Rome, and encamped at Tibur.

In answer to this measure Octavian, now in constant communication with Cicero, began on his own authority, and at his own cost, raising troops among the veterans in Campania. He was very successful, "and no wonder," says Cicero, "for he gives a bounty of 500 denarii apiece."² Cicero, then at Puteoli, was at first in grave doubts as to the effects of this step. He did not feel sure of Octavian's real aims, he mistrusted his youth and his name; and yet was inclined to accept his aid, and help him to get senatorial sanction:³ and soon afterwards—having finished his *de Officiis*—he began a leisurely journey to Arpinum, and thence to Tusculum. He agrees with the suggestion of Atticus that, "if Octavian gets much power, the *acta* of Cæsar will be confirmed more decisively than they were in the temple of Tellus," but yet he sees that "if he is beaten, Antony becomes intolerable."⁴ But events were soon to leave Cicero no choice. The fourth legion and the Martia, instead of going as ordered to Ariminum, turned off to Alba Fucentia and closed its gates. Antony, who had meanwhile arrived at Rome and summoned a meeting of the senate for the 23rd of November, heard of this and hurried off to Alba Fucentia to recover the loyalty of the legions, but was repelled from the walls of the town by a shower of stones. He therefore returned to Rome, hurriedly held the postponed meeting of the senate, at which a *sortitio* was accomplished assigning Macedonia to Gaius Antonius, and then joined his own camp at Tibur. The Martia and the fourth legion presently declared their adhesion to Octa-

¹ P. 140.² Pp. 145-146; about £20.³ Pp. 150-151.⁴ P. 157; cp. p. 159. Cicero, however, believed and approved of the plot to assassinate Antony, attributed to Octavian. See n. 120

vian, who, thus reinforced, marched at Antony's heels northwards in the direction of Ariminum.

Cicero arrived at Rome on the 9th of December,¹ the day before the new tribunes, one of whom Cicero takes the lead in the senate in promoting measures against Antony. was the tyrannicide Casca, entered office. The state of the Empire in regard to the government of the provinces was this: Southern Spain (Bætica) was in the hands of Pollio, Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior were held by Lepidus, the rest of Gallia Transalpina by Plancus. It was uncertain which side these three men would take, and Cicero was in constant correspondence with them, urging them to be loyal to the senate. Africa was in the hands of Cornificius, whose loyalty was certain. Gaius Antonius was on his way to take over Macedonia. Trebonius, a strong Ciceronian, was in possession of Asia; Dolabella—whose sentiments were not certainly known—was on his way to Syria; while Marcus Brutus and Cassius were also on their way, the former to Greece, with the intention of disputing the possession of Macedonia with Gaius Antonius, the latter to Syria, where he meant to supersede Dolabella.

But the immediate point at which war seemed certain was Gallia Cisalpina. There Decimus Brutus had been governor since April, and it remained to be seen whether he would acknowledge the validity of the law which named Antony as his successor. This question was set at rest by the publication of his edict in Rome on the 19th of December, in which he forbade anyone with *imperium* to enter his province.² But by this time Antony was on the point of investing him in Mutina, and Octavian on his way to relieve him. Such was the state of things when the tribunes summoned a meeting of the senate on the 20th, at which the state of the Republic was referred to the senators by Casca. A motion was proposed and carried by Cicero, giving the consuls-elect authority to protect the senate at its meeting on the 1st of January, and ordering all holders of provinces

Antony and Dec. Brutus in Gallia Cisalpina. The third and fourth Philippics, 20th Dec., B. C. 44.

¹ P. 163.

² P. 167.

to continue in office until successors were appointed by the senate; approving of the edict of Decimus Brutus; and formally commending the actions of Octavian and of the fourth legion and the Martia. Cicero's speech is that now called the *third Philippic*, and the decree of the senate was explained to the people in a *contio* now called the *fourth Philippic*.

The reader of the letters, taken in combination with the remaining Philipppics, will now be able to follow the course of events almost step by step: the futile negotiations with Antony, the authority and rank bestowed on Octavian, the defeat of Antony at Mutina, and his masterly retreat across the Maritime Alps to Vada, the vain pursuit of him by Decimus Brutus, his reinforcement by Ventidius Bassus, and the treason of Lepidus, who after a few weeks' hesitation united his forces with him. There, too, he will see foreshadowed, though not completed, the similar treason of Plancus and of Pollio, the coming destruction of Decimus Brutus, and the unfolding of Octavian's real policy in regard to the Optimates. In the East he will find M. Brutus master of Macedonia, with Gaius Antonius a prisoner in his camp: Trebonius put to death in his province of Asia by Dolabella, and Dolabella being slowly but surely brought to bay by Cassius. The defeat of Antony at Forum Gallorum and Mutina (April 13th and 15th) was the prelude to a series of bitter disappointments to Cicero. When the report reached Rome he and his party confidently believed that the war was over, that Antony was entirely crushed, that the old liberty was restored. This exultation was very little damped by the subsequent intelligence that both consuls had fallen. Decent expressions of regret and complimentary votes in their honour seemed all that was necessary. But despatch after despatch from Decimus Brutus revealed the fact of how little had been accomplished, and how strong Antony still was. Cicero, whose energy was still unabated, turned with frantic eagerness to the task of inducing Lepidus and Plancus to remain loyal to the senate; and, as a last hope, to persuade Brutus and Cassius that it was their duty to return to Italy with their victorious armies and protect Rome

from Antony. The correspondence leaves Cicero still hopeful and eager, before Plancus had declared for Antony, or Decimus Brutus had been finally ruined ; and before it had become evident that Octavian meant to turn upon the senate, under whose authority he had been acting.

But within a month from the date at which the correspondence stops Cicero knew that his last chance was gone. The inaction of Octavian after the victory of Forum Gallorum puzzled Decimus Brutus, Plancus, and Cicero almost equally. He declined to hand over any legions to Decimus Brutus, or to join him in the pursuit of Antony ; but he did not commit any act of positive hostility against him. There were, however, sinister rumours. An epigram of Cicero's, to the effect that the young man was to be "complimented, promoted, and—got rid of," was said to have been retailed to Octavian, and he had replied that he had no intention of being got rid of. Other reports asserted that Pansa's wound had been poisoned by his physician at Octavian's suggestion. Others, again, that he was negotiating with Cicero, with a view to holding the consulship as his colleague.¹ All that was certainly known was that he was keeping his whole force in hand, and shewed no sign of intending to lay down his command. Successive decrees of the senate had invested him with *imperium*, the prætorian, and then the consular rank, and had given him the privilege of standing for the consulship long before the legal age. But after the victory at Forum Gallorum the tone of the senate towards him altered. His name was ostentatiously omitted in the complimentary vote of thanks to the army, and when presently some of his officers appeared in the senate with a formal demand to be allowed to stand for the consulship at once, the demand was rejected. The senate trusted for protection to two legions which were being sent from Africa by Cornificius ; but Octavian at once started for Rome in person at the head of his army. There were no troops between him and Rome, or in Rome itself, to withstand him. The legions from Africa arrived indeed about the same time as he did, but their officers almost immediately surrendered them to

¹ See pp. 253, 254.

him. Cornutus, the *prætor urbanus*, committed suicide in despair, and the senate and city were alike at his disposal. Cicero, among the rest, had to make a somewhat pitiful submission, and after one attempt to organize an opposition, on a false report that the Martia and fourth legion had deserted Octavian, he retired to Tusculum and disappeared from public life.

The only question for him and his brother now was whether they would be allowed to live unmolested in a private station. Octavian soon made it evident that he meant relentlessly to punish his uncle's murderers. He was elected consul on the 19th of August with his cousin Q. Pedius. By his direction Pedius brought in a law condemning all the assassins of Cæsar, and the tribune Casca was the first victim under it. The law did not touch Cicero personally, but events quickly followed that made his death certain. What Octavian had now to deal with was the force collected in Gaul. By this time Antony had been joined not only by Lepidus, but by Plancus from Celtic Gaul, and by Pollio from Bætica. He had therefore a formidable force. Decimus Brutus was now a condemned man, and was besides entirely powerless; for when Plancus joined Antony nearly all the troops of Decimus Brutus did the same. He was almost alone, and was making desperate efforts to find his way to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. So that when Octavian, leaving the care of the city to Pedius, started once more for the north, though his object was nominally to crush Decimus Brutus, he had nothing to do but to prevent his reaching Ravenna, and force him back to Gaul, where he was arrested and put to death by Antony's order. The real question for Octavian was how to deal with Antony. He had resolved on coming to terms with him, and after a certain amount of negotiation, he met him and Lepidus on a small island in one of the tributaries of the Po, not far from Bononia, and agreed to share the Empire as "triumvirs for the reconstitution of the state." They were to be appointed for five years, and as a preliminary were to draw up a list mutually agreed upon of men who were to be declared outside the law, and liable to be put to death at once. The obedient people of Rome accordingly voted the appointment on the 27th of November, and the first

exercise of their dictatorial powers was the publication of an edict and a provisional list of men to be thus "proscribed." The first list had been forwarded to Peditus before the actual publication of the edict,¹ and Cicero, who was at Tusculum, soon learnt that his own name, and those of his brother and nephew, were on it. The last scene shall be told in the words of Plutarch.

"While the conference between the triumvirs was going on Cicero was in his villa at Tusculum with his brother. When they heard of the proscription Cicero. they resolved to remove to his seaside villa at Astura, and thence to take ship and join Brutus in Macedonia: for there were great reports of his success there. They travelled in litters overpowered by distress; and whenever there was a halt in the journey, the two litters were placed side by side and the brothers mingled their lamentations. Quintus was the more cast down of the two and was haunted with the idea of their want of money, for he had brought nothing, he said, with him, and Cicero himself was poorly provided for a journey. It would be better, therefore, he thought, for Cicero to precede him in his flight, while he went home, collected what was necessary, and hurried after him. This course was resolved upon, and the brothers parted with embraces and tears. Not many days after this Quintus was betrayed by his slaves and was put to death with his son. But Cicero reached Astura, found a vessel, embarked, and sailed with a favourable wind as far as Circeii. The pilots wished to put out to sea from that place at once: but whether it was that he feared the sea or had not yet given up all trust in the promise of Octavian, he disembarked and travelled a hundred furlongs upon the road to Rome. But once more, almost beside himself with distress and indecision, he returned to the sea-coast at Astura and there spent the night in terrified and hopeless reflexions. One of his ideas was to go to Octavian's house in disguise and kill himself at the hearth-altar and thus bring a curse upon it. But from undertaking this journey also he was deterred by a dread of being

¹ The edict was not put up till the triumvirs entered Rome; but Cicero's name was among those forwarded before (App. *B. C.* iv. 4). For the text of the edict, see App. iv. 8-11.

put to torture ; and with his mind still dazed with confused and contradictory designs, he put himself in the hands of his servants to be conveyed by sea to Caieta, as he had property there and an agreeable summer retreat, when the Etesian winds are at their pleasantest. In this spot there stands a temple of Apollo just above the sea : from it a flock of ravens rose and flew towards Cicero's ship as it was being rowed to land, and settling down upon the yard-arm on both sides of the mast, some of them began uttering loud cries and others pecking at the ends of the ropes. Everybody thought this a bad omen. Cicero, however, disembarked and went to the lodge and lay down to get some rest. But most of the ravens lighted down about the window uttering cries of distress, and one of them settling on the bed, where Cicero was lying with his head covered, gradually drew off the covering from his face with its beak. The servants, seeing this, thought that they would be base indeed if they endured to be spectators of their master's murder, and did nothing to protect him, while even animals were helping him and sympathizing in his undeserved misfortune, and so, partly by entreaties and partly by compulsion, they got him again into his litter and began carrying him down to the sea.

“Meanwhile the executioners arrived, Herennius the centurion and Popillus the military tribune (whom he once defended on a charge of parricide) with their attendants. Finding the doors locked, they broke into the house ; but when Cicero was not to be seen, and those indoors denied knowing anything about him, it is said that a young man named Philologus—a freedman of Quintus, whom Cicero had educated in polite learning and philosophy—told the tribune about the litter which was being carried through woodland and over-shadowed paths towards the sea. So the tribune, taking a small party with him, ran round to the entrance to the grounds, while Herennius ran down the pathway. Cicero perceived him coming and ordered his servants to set down the litter. Cicero himself, with his left hand as usual on his chin, sat gazing steadfastly on the executioners, unwashed, with streaming locks, his brow contracted with his anxieties. It was more than those present could endure, and they covered their faces while Herennius

was killing him, as he thrust out his head from the litter and received the stroke. He was in his sixty-fourth year. By the command of Antony the man cut off his head and the hands with which he had written the *Philippics* ! ”¹

The character and aims of Cicero will have been abundantly illustrated for the reader of these letters. That controversies should rage round his memory is only what must always be the case with a man who takes an active share in political life. Enmities and their expression in invective are more interesting to many than praise, and therefore more lasting. It is an easy task, moreover, to find faults in a character so impulsive, so many-sided, and so complex as that of Cicero. But the one view which I think inadmissible is the Mommsenian one of sheer contempt. Perhaps Cicero was not so important a figure in Roman politics as he thought himself : that he was of no importance is disproved both by the warmth of his friends and the rancour of his enemies. If he lacked originality as a writer or philosopher, neither did he pretend to any. He wished to interpret the Greek philosophers to his countrymen : he did it imperfectly, but he did it as no one else could or did. The magic of style has found its way to the intelligence and taste of mankind, as many a more learned and accurate man would have failed and has failed to do. He composed speeches which are often unfair, overstrained, and disingenuous, but they remain among the first in the world. He wrote letters incessantly : they are sometimes insincere, sometimes weak and tiresome, but taken as a whole they are scarcely surpassed by any existing collection. Signor E. Masè-Dari has lately written a volume tending to throw a doubt on his financial purity, especially in his administration of Cilicia. The attempt is, I think, a failure ; and though Cicero was a man habitually embarrassed in regard to ready money, it seems that the Roman system of investment—of short loans and accommodation money—is more accountable for this than personal extravagance or reckless contraction of debt. In politics he doubtless made the mistake of putting confidence

¹ Plutarch, *Cicero*, xlvii.-xlviii. There is also a somewhat similar account by Livy preserved by Seneca, *Suasoriae*, i. 7.

in the leaders of the losing side. But it was really because he believed their side to be the side of right and justice. He had no personal aim in the choice, beyond the advantages which he would share with all his fellow citizens, and the primary desire to be allowed to live and enjoy the position to which his talents had raised him. His vacillation is never in his conviction as to right and wrong: but that which arose from his innate faculty of seeing every side of a question and all possible contingencies. To a nervous temperament such as his it was impossible that the dangers to himself and his family should not loom large before his eyes. But when the time came to act, he usually shewed far more resolution than his own language allows us to expect. If we had as much self-revelation from the other men of his days as we have from him, we should probably find no less vacillation, and certainly no greater conscientiousness. His almost savage expressions of joy at the murder of Cæsar do not present his character in an amiable light. But then in his eyes Cæsar had ruined the state. The constitution needed reform: Cæsar had destroyed it. Social and political life needed purifying: Cæsar had used some of the most reprobate members of society to put an end to all political and social freedom. That may not be the true state of the case as we see it, but it is what Cicero saw and believed. Cæsar was a *tyrannus*. Even when he did well, he did it in the wrong way, and could give no security that it would not be wholly undone by a successor. The only security for justice was law-abiding and constitutional government, and that Cæsar had made for ever impossible. By a convention as old as the Republic, "lynching" was the proper punishment of a man who set himself up as *rex*, and that Cæsar practically, and almost even in name, had done.

The last months of Cicero's life are not marred by the vacillations of former periods. From the 1st of September, B.C. 44, his aim is single and continuous. He was resolved to resist to the death the attempt to perpetuate Cæsarism after Cæsar's death, and to use all his powers of eloquence and persuasion to rouse the loyalist party to make a stand for liberty. And when one after the other his hopes failed and his supports fell away, he met death with a courage which did not belie his life and his philosophy.

Besides Atticus, who still claims a considerable share of the correspondence, the majority of letters in these last months are addressed to Plancus, Decimus Cicero's cor- Brutus, Lepidus, Cassius, and M. Brutus. There respondents. is one to Antony, afterwards quoted by him against Cicero in the senate, and some few to Dolabella.

This is hardly the time at which a final review of ANTONY's character should be made, for the test of his real worth as a statesman and ruler came in the period following Cicero's death. Yet in spite of personal prejudice

Marcus Antonius,
b. B.C. 83.

Cicero does not seem to have made a mistaken estimate of him. In B.C. 51 he had foreseen that he and his brothers were likely to be important personages in the Cæsarian era, and had warned his friend Thermus not to offend them.¹ Marcus had been through the regular official round. He had served with Gabinius in Syria and Egypt (B.C. 57-56), had been quæstor and *legatus* to Iulius Cæsar in Gaul (B.C. 54-52), and was one of the tribunes of B.C. 50-49 who vetoed the fatal motion in January, B.C. 49, for his recall. His greatness then began. After Pompey's flight and Cæsar's departure for Spain, he was left in charge of Italy with the rank of proprætor. In B.C. 48 he joined Cæsar in Epirus with reinforcements, fought at Pharsalia, and was sent back after the victory to take over again the management of Rome and Italy; and when Cæsar was named Dictator in B.C. 47 Antony was named his Master of the Horse. Thus far his energy and courage had put him in the front rank of Cæsar's younger officers. But from this time his weaknesses as well as his strength began to shew themselves. He was not successful in his government at Rome during Cæsar's absence in Alexandria, and the disorders which grew to a dangerous height under his administration, both in the city and among the veteran legions, were only suppressed by the return of the Dictator. His wild debaucheries seem to have contributed to weaken his influence, and his financial embarrassments, partly at least to be attributed to them, caused him to attempt their relief by dealing with confiscated properties in a way which brought him into collision with Cæsar. A

¹ Vol. ii., p. 157.

coldness appears to have arisen between them, and Lepidus took his place as Master of the Horse. But this coldness, whatever its nature and cause, disappeared upon Cæsar's return from Spain in B.C. 45, and Antony was named consul as Cæsar's colleague for B.C. 44. In spite of Cicero's invectives against him in the last months of the orator's life, Antony does not seem to have treated him with personal disrespect or harshness: and this Cicero often acknowledges, scandalized as he was by his conduct whilst in charge of Italy. He was in fact not unkindly by nature, capable of genuine affection and even passion (he ended, we all know, in throwing away the world for a woman's smile), good-natured, and florid in person as well as in style of speech and writing. But with some amiable qualities, he was without virtues. In a ruler good-natured indulgence to followers means often suffering to the ruled. In a competitor for empire, reckless gallantry is by itself no match for self-control and astuteness. In the end the unimpassioned youth, whom we find him here treating with some disdain, out-manceuvred him and outbid him for popular favour, and finally even beat him in war. In these letters, in spite of their hostility, we learn of what was perhaps his greatest military achievement, his masterly retreat from Mutina and his rally in Gallia Narbonensis.

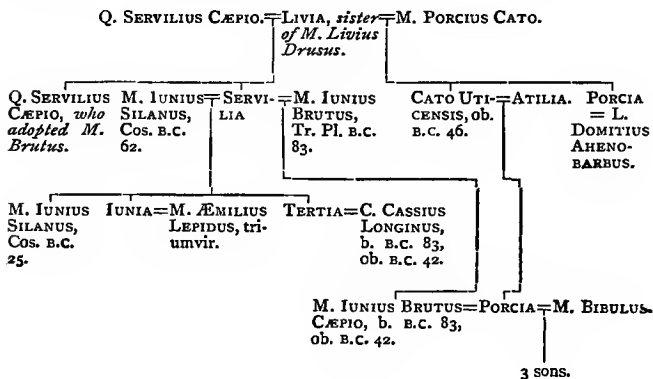
DOLABELLA is on a much lower plane than Antony, and would not be much worth our attention were it not for his peculiar connexion with Cicero. P. Cornelius Dolabella, b. about B.C. 70. He was one of the wildest and most extravagant of the young nobles of the day, but was apparently possessed of some oratorical ability. As was the fashion of the time, he trusted to this ability to bring him office and means to escape from his embarrassments, and in order to make himself a name as an orator and man of affairs commenced a prosecution of a man of high rank for malversation in his province. The person he selected was Appius Claudius, Cicero's predecessor in Cilicia. This happened to be particularly inconvenient to Cicero, who, besides wishing to stand well with Claudius, found that just about the time the prosecution was to begin (early in B.C. 50) his wife had consented to Dolabella's marriage with Tullia. It is not quite clear what Cicero's views on the subject were.

He had been consulted, and wrote to Terentia leaving the matter in her hands. Yet when he found it an accomplished fact, he felt much annoyed, especially as in the meanwhile he had been visited by Tiberius Nero with a proposal for Tullia's hand, and would have preferred him. The marriage, however, had taken place, and he was obliged to make the best of it, and consoled himself in B.C. 50-49 with the reflexion that, as Dolabella took Cæsar's side in the Civil War, he might prove a protection to his wife's family, which perhaps turned out to be the case. But neither was the marriage a happy one, owing to Dolabella's gross misbehaviour, nor had Cicero any reason to approve his son-in-law's public conduct. He was tribune in B.C. 47, whilst Cæsar was in Alexandria, and produced much uproar in Rome by proposing a law for the abolition of debts. Though his conduct was condoned by Cæsar, who took him on his campaigns in Africa and Spain (B.C. 46-45), he never shewed any qualities fitting him for public life. However, his behaviour in the field may be supposed to have earned Cæsar's regard, for he promised him the consulship for half the year B.C. 44, when he himself should have gone on the Getic and Parthian expeditions. Antony objected to such a colleague and went so far as to attempt to invalidate the election—as he had threatened to do—by announcing bad omens. The decision of the augurs on the point was not given when Cæsar was assassinated, and in the confusion that followed Dolabella assumed the insignia of the consulship. Two years before this his conduct had been so outrageous that Cicero had induced Tullia—somewhat unwillingly, it seems—to divorce him. But the strangest part of the business to our feelings is the cordial and almost affectionate manner in which Cicero continues to address him. This is raised to absolute adulation—in spite of a private grievance as to the failure to repay Tullia's dowry—by his belief that after Cæsar's death Dolabella meant to take the constitutional side. He had at first openly shewn his sympathy with the assassins, and a few weeks later had suppressed the riots which took place round the column and altar placed over the spot where Cæsar's body had been burnt, by executing—in what appears a most arbitrary manner—a number of citizens and slaves. But this show of republican ardour soon disap-

peared. He shared with Antony in the plunder of the temple of Ops, obtained a nomination to the province of Syria, left Rome while still consul to take possession before Cassius could get there, and on his way through Asia barbarously murdered the governor of Asia, Trebonius (February, B.C. 43). Trebonius was in Asia with the express understanding that he was to collect forces and money for the republican party; and this act of Dolabella's was a declaration of hostility to it. The senate declared him a *hostis* and Cassius was commissioned to crush him. Rumour of his fall (he committed suicide while blockaded in Laodicea) reached Rome before the correspondence closes, but no official confirmation of it. Dolabella's private character was bad, and there is nothing in his public conduct to make up for it.

But the chief figures in the last stage of the correspondence are the two Bruti, Marcus and Decimus, Gaius Cassius, Plancus and Lepidus.¹ C. Cassius Longinus, b. B.C. 83. With CASSIUS Cicero's intimacy seems to have begun in B.C. 46, when they were both living in Rome by Cæsar's indulgence, and both of them with feelings of very doubtful loyalty to his *régime*. Cassius had distinguished himself after the fall of Crassus—whose

¹ The family ties uniting the leaders of the anti-Cæsarian party will be seen by the annexed table :



quæstor he was—by successfully getting the remains of the Roman army back to Antioch, and repelling an attack of the Parthians on that town in the following year (B.C. 52). His success made Cicero's year in Cilicia (B.C. 51-50) safe as far as the Parthians were concerned. But he does not speak with much cordiality about it, or as if he knew Cassius at all intimately. Cassius was in command of a fleet off Sicily when the battle of Pharsalia took place. When he heard of it he sailed towards the Hellespont, apparently with a view of intercepting Cæsar, but almost immediately surrendered to him. After the Alexandrian War he seems to have returned to Rome and turned his attention to philosophy, adopting the doctrines of the Epicurean School. His letter (vol. iii., p. 194) shews the zeal of a late convert, as Cicero implies that he was (vol. iii., p. 174). He was never a hearty Cæsarian, though, like others, he submitted. In B.C. 46-45, when Cæsar was going to Spain to attack the sons of Pompey, he seems to have excused himself from fighting against old friends, and consequently to have received a hint that he had better go on a tour that would keep him from Rome during Cæsar's absence. On Cæsar's return, however, in the middle of B.C. 45, he appears to have been treated respectfully and nominated as prætor for B.C. 44, though he was annoyed at the preference being given to his brother-in-law M. Brutus, who was *prætor urbanus*. They were also to be consuls in B.C. 41, their proper year. To assign his personal annoyance as to the urban prætorship as the motive for his promotion of the conspiracy does not seem reasonable, in face of the evidence of his profound discontent at the Cæsarian *régime*. He of course accepted office by Cæsar's favour, but he probably regarded that office as no more than his due, and the influence which gave it him as an unconstitutional exercise of prerogative, with which he could have dispensed if the state of the Republic had been normal. On the whole his share in the crime of the Ides of March is not aggravated by the additional stigma of ingratitude to the same extent as some of the others. His letters from Syria are short and soldierlike. Without being a man of great ability, he evidently possessed energy and military capacity.

PLANCUS was only accidentally of interest to Cicero. He

was one of Cæsar's *legati* in Gaul who stood by him in the Civil War. He fought with success at Ilerda in B.C. 49 (Cæs. *B. C.* i. 40) and in the African campaign of B.C. 46 (Cæs. *Afr.* iv.), and was to be rewarded by the governorship of Celtic Gaul in B.C. 44-43, and the consulship in B.C. 42. His connexion with Antony afterwards, his long residence with him in Egypt, and his ultimate betrayal of his secrets to Augustus made the court historian Paternulus particularly fierce in denouncing him as inflicted with a kind of disease of treason, and as the most shifty of men. His letters to Cicero do not do much to relieve his character, clever and graphic as they are. He was influenced, it seems, almost entirely by personal considerations. If he did not resist Antony, he feared he should lose his province; if he did so unsuccessfully, he feared he might lose the consulship of B.C. 42. He therefore is vehement in his professions of loyalty to the senate, as long as it seemed that their generals were winning. He allowed Decimus Brutus to join forces with him, and was urgent that Octavian should do the same. But when he found that Antony had been joined by Lepidus and Pollio, he accepted the compromise offered him, and saved his consulship, if not his honour.

LEPIDUS was another man whom the chances of civil war had brought to a higher position than he had strength or character to maintain. He happened to be prætor in B.C. 49, and to do Cæsar some service in securing his nomination as Dictator to hold the consular election. He was rewarded by the governorship of Hispania Citerior in B.C. 48-47, and the consulship of B.C. 46 as colleague of Cæsar himself. Cæsar does not seem to have employed him in a military capacity, but to have left him at home to keep order in Rome: and when Cæsar was again appointed Dictator after Thapsus, and again for life after Munda, Lepidus was named his second in command or Master of the Horse. Though he still held that office in B.C. 44, he was not to accompany Cæsar in the Parthian War, but was to hold the combined provinces of Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior. He used the troops collected for those provinces to keep order in Rome after the assassination. He did not, however, stay long in Rome. Having secured his own election as Pontifex

Maximus in succession to Cæsar, he went to his province. Whether he had any understanding with Antony or not, he seems at first to have been engaged in negotiations with Sext. Pompeius ostensibly in the interests of the senatorial party. From the proceedings of Antony in B.C. 44, and his ultimate determination to oust Decimus Brutus from Gallia, he stood aloof. When the siege of Mutina began he seems to have sent officers nominally to communicate with Brutus, but with secret orders not to take part in the struggle; and when Antony entered Narbonensis, after his retreat from Mutina, his officers at the frontier made no resistance, and though he feigned to be displeased and to punish them, they evidently were acting with his connivance. He was—says Decimus Brutus—"the shiftiest of men" (*homo ventosissimus*¹), and his letters to Cicero and the senate professing loyalty, when on the eve of joining forces with Antony, are curious for their laboured treason.² Like turncoats generally, he was little valued by the side which he thus joined. Antony and Octavian found it convenient to admit him to the triumvirate, but he was always treated with contempt by his two colleagues, and after his futile attempt in B.C. 36 to undermine Octavian's authority in Sicily, he was compelled to live in ignominious retirement till his death in B.C. 13. Cicero did his best by flattery and exhortation to keep him loyal, but never thought highly of him.³

Of all those who joined in the murder of Cæsar, DECIMUS BRUTUS seems to have had the least personal motive and the least excuse. Cæsar Brutus Albinus. evidently thought highly of him, and regarded him with personal affection. He had served with some distinction in Gaul. He commanded the fleet against the Veneti in B.C. 56, was left in charge of troops in Auvergne, and fought at Alesia in B.C. 52. Cæsar always calls him *adulescens* on these occasions: he probably therefore was under thirty, and had not held the quæstorship. When the Civil War broke out he was placed in command of the fleet built by Cæsar's orders to blockade Marseilles (B.C. 49), and seems to have shewn himself efficient. We

¹ P. 121; Cicero speaks of him as *levissimus* ("most unstable"), vol. iv., p. 322.

² Pp. 265, 291.

³ Vol. ii., p. 330.

have no information as to the years in which he held office, but he was in Rome in B.C. 50,¹ and may have been quæstor. He does not seem to have been in any of the other battles of the Civil War. Soon after B.C. 49 he was named governor of Farther Gaul, and fought successfully with the Bellovaci. There he seems to have remained for about three years, and on his return to Rome, about the same time that Cæsar came back from Spain (B.C. 45), was received by Cæsar with great honour and affection, being admitted to ride in a carriage with Octavius and Antony, behind that of the Dictator, when he entered Rome.² He was also named for the province of Cisalpine Gaul for B.C. 44-43, and to the consulship for B.C. 42 with Plancus. Finally, as it transpired after Cæsar's death, he was named "second heir" in the Dictator's will. There seems no explanation of his having joined in the conspiracy except possibly his marriage with Paulla Valeria, the sister of a strong Pompeian. His known influence with Cæsar enabled him to play a particularly treacherous part. When the usual honorary procession of senators called at Cæsar's house on the fatal Ides of March they found him disinclined to go to the Curia, owing to various warnings, dreams, and omens. To Dec. Brutus was therefore assigned the task of persuading him to alter his resolution. The letter written by Decimus immediately afterwards shews no sign of remorse or regret.³ He was therefore fully persuaded in his own mind that he was doing a public duty. He gained nothing by it, and could hardly have hoped to do so. At first it seemed likely that he would be prevented from taking over his province. But Antony appears to have found it impossible to prevent his going there; and as the regular complement of men were already awaiting him, as soon as he entered the province he was able to act in all respects as a lawfully appointed governor.⁴ But he was also resolved to hold the province through B.C. 43, to the eve of his consulship, and refused to acknowledge the *lex* obtained by Antony authorizing him to succeed Brutus in January of that year. This was the origin of the war of Mutina, which fills so large a part in the letters

¹ Vol. ii., p. 116.

² Plut. *Ant.* xi.

³ Pp. 1-3.

⁴ See his expedition against Alpine tribes, p. 144.

of this volume. Cicero's letters to him in B.C. 44 will illustrate his position before Antony's open war against him, and his own despatches after his relief at Mutinà (April, B.C. 43) take us step by step along the road in that vain pursuit of Antony, which finally brought Decimus himself to destruction.

The most notable figure in this last section of the correspondence is MARCUS BRUTUS. He has long enjoyed a unique reputation, founded partly on his name and imaginary descent from the expeller of kings, partly on the supposed loftiness of his motives and his stoical purity. He was the *preux chevalier* of the conspiracy, a Bayard or a Sidney, who acted only as a gentleman, a patriot, and a Stoic was bound to act. Even Antony acknowledged that he alone of the assassins was without selfish aims; and Shakespeare faithfully caught the spirit of his authorities when he made him the hero of his *Julius Cæsar*. There have not, of course, been wanting critics to take a different view of the character and career of Brutus. He is, for instance, an object of positive aversion to the editors of the great Dublin edition of the letters, who not only refer to his stiff and ungracious manners, of which Cicero himself seems to complain, and to his shallow pedantry, but accuse him of gross oppression and usury in Asia and Cyprus, of betraying to Cæsar Pompey's intention of going to Egypt after Pharsalia, of mean motives and gross ingratitude in the assassination of Cæsar, and, while trying to make terms with the Antonians, of failing his party at their direst need by not coming over from Macedonia with his army. There is thus nothing left of the heroic about him, or even of what is decently honourable. If whitewashing the villains of history is an unsatisfactory employment, a still less satisfactory one is that of dispelling our illusions as to its heroes. His contemporaries admired Brutus, even his opponents admitted his high qualities, an almost constant tradition agreed in exalting his character. If Dante placed him in his lowest hell, it was from the stern condemnation of murder, whatever might be pleaded for the murderer. There was no more pardon for him than for Francesca's adultery, in spite of infinite pity. It is, of course, impossible to acquit Brutus of

M. Iunius Brutus
(Cæpio), b. B.C.
83, ob. B.C. 42.

sinking to the level of his age and belying his philosophy in the usurious proceedings in Cyprus,¹ and of at least indifference as to the harshness with which his agents exacted the money. It was, however, too common a custom among the Roman nobility to shock his contemporaries, or to surprise moderns who know how often practice does not square with theory. In the government of Gallia Cisalpina (B.C. 56) he seems to have been blameless in regard to money, and to have shewn considerable ability. The alleged betrayal of Pompey's intention of going to Egypt is not really substantiated by Plutarch, and seems to be rendered nearly impossible from the fact that Pompey had not made up his mind himself when he escaped from Pharsalia; and Brutus, who left the camp after him, could scarcely have known it, if he had. In the matter of Cæsar's murder he was as guilty as the rest—neither more nor less. He probably felt no special gratitude to Cæsar, who could hardly have done other than spare him after Pharsalia, in view of his own relations with his mother Servilia. The rumour that Brutus was in reality Cæsar's son is in the highest degree improbable, though perhaps not absolutely impossible. He had no reason to love Pompey, who had treacherously killed his father, but he did love his uncle Cato, whose death was at Cæsar's door. His coming over to Italy in B.C. 43, as Cicero urged him to do, even if it had been possible with such transport as he had, would hardly have been wise. His opponents were then in great strength; there is no reason to believe that Italy was—as Cicero alleged—ready to rise in his support, and an unsuccessful battle with Antony, Lepidus and Octavian, who would assuredly have united to oppose him, would have not only entailed the final loss of the cause, but have given the excuse for a massacre worse than the proscriptions. The charge of dallying with the Antonians rests on his leniency in the matter of Gaius Antonius, whom he had taken prisoner. On the 13th of April, just before the result of the battles of Mutina was known, a despatch arrived from Brutus, accompanied by one from Gaius Antonius himself, which began *Gaius Antonius Proconsul*.² They were brought by Pilius Celer, the father-in-law of

¹ See vol. ii., pp. xii, xiii, 136-137.

² P. 215.

Atticus, and handed to a tribune. The tribune passed them to Cornutus, the *prætor urbanus* who was presiding in the senate in the absence of the consuls. The despatch of Brutus referred to Antonius in indulgent terms, and the fact of having allowed him to style himself *Proconsul* was regarded by the Ciceronians as a practical abandonment of their contention, that Brutus was alone lawful proconsul of Macedonia. Cicero felt so much embarrassed that he said nothing. But at the next day's meeting he spoke severely of this assumption of the title of Proconsul, and some of the party tried to insinuate that the despatch of Brutus was a forgery. There is no evidence, however, that Brutus ever attempted to disown the despatch, and even after the battles of Mutina he continued to treat Gaius Antonius with consideration, who, according to the most probable account, was not put to death till towards the end of the year, and then not directly by the order of Brutus. Some of the Ciceronian party were alarmed at the possible position of their relations if they had borne arms against a "proconsul," and were therefore eager to mark the rejection of the claim implied by the use of the title. But there could not be any doubt of the right of Gaius Antonius to this designation, as he had doubtless been invested with *imperium* in the usual way. The question was really whether he had any lawful claim to be exercising that *imperium* in Macedonia. In that point of view he stood—as Cicero remarked—in the same position as his brother Marcus in Gaul. But Marcus had been proclaimed by the senate a *hostis*, which it does not seem that Gaius had been. There may, therefore, have been room for negotiation, and in the midst of so much bloodshed it is hardly a matter for reproach to Brutus that he hesitated to execute a prisoner captured in open fight, and was willing to allow him to obtain terms from the senate. In Cicero's view, however, everything but war *à l'outrance* with the Antonies was treason, and he constantly presses upon Brutus the necessity of getting rid of him.

As controversy has thus raged round the character of Brutus, so has it done also on the genuineness of the two books of letters between Brutus and Cicero. The question has been fully stated and the latest arguments reviewed by the Dublin editors, and need not be discussed over again

here. The general result is that the two books are shewn to be part of one book, the ninth, of a much larger collection once existing ; that those in Book II. should precede those in Book I. ; and that the evidence is in favour of the genuineness of all the letters except I. 16, 17 (pp. 243-252). Even of these the Dublin editors think that the evidence in their favour is on the whole stronger than that against them. The MS. authority of these two letters is not different from that for the rest of the book, but I believe that there are many points both of style and historical allusion that would strike a reader of the correspondence as suspicious. The letter to Cicero is worse than that to Atticus both in substance and in style, but neither is worthy of the reputation of Brutus. We unfortunately do not know the details of Cicero's dealings with Octavian well enough to pronounce with certainty that he did not write to him in the tone to which Brutus objects. But we do know that the senate—acting under Cicero's influence—in their vote of honours to the army rather studiously ignored Octavian's services,¹ and rejected the mission of Salvidienus when he asked for the consulship for him. If Cicero was at the same time writing in flattering terms to him and proposing an ovation, he was playing a very treacherous and very dangerous game. Therefore if Letters I. 16, 17 are to be put aside as later compositions, we should be glad to think that I. 15 (pp. 318-324) must follow in the same road : and the panegyric on Messalla—so premature, and so likely to be inserted afterwards—makes the spuriousness at any rate of part of the letter highly probable. There seems to be a kind of fashion in criticism. Forty or fifty years ago there was a tendency to throw doubt on the genuineness of ancient writings with a kind of triumphant scepticism ; now the pendulum has swung back—for the most part happily so—and the impulse is to defend everything. Neither fashion is wholly in the right.

¹ App. B. C. iii. 74, 86.

CICERO'S LETTERS

699 X
DCXCVI (F VI, 15)

*Will. CP. 8. 48-56
This rat. is to Sept.
when Bas. may have done
something striking for
himself.*

TO L. MINUCIUS BASILUS¹ (ON THE
CAPITOL)

ROME (15 MARCH, B.C. 44)

I CONGRATULATE you! For myself I am rejoiced! I love you: I watch over your interests: I desire to be loved by you and to be informed of how you are, and what is being done.

695
DCXCVII (F VI, 1)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO M. BRUTUS AND
C. CASSIUS (ON THE CAPITOL)

ROME, 17 MARCH

I WRITE to let you know our position. Yesterday evening Hirtius called on me, and told me about the disposition of Antony. It is of course as bad and untrustworthy as

¹ One of the assassins, who struck so wildly that he wounded Rubrius (Nic. Dam. c. 24). He was murdered early in the next year by his own slaves in retaliation for a barbarous punishment inflicted on some of them (Appian, *B. C.* iii. 98). The note is no doubt written immediately after the assassination; though there is no direct evidence of it, nor do we know anything of Cicero's relations with Basilus to explain why he is selected for congratulation out of all the conspirators. He is only once mentioned before (vol. iii., p. 13), where it appears that he had been inclined to befriend Cicero after Pharsalia, but Cicero only commissions Atticus to send him a formal letter in his name.

possible. For he said that he could not give me my province, and did not think that it was safe for any of us to remain in Rome, considering the extreme irritation of the soldiery and the common people. I think you are aware that both these allegations are false, and that the truth is what Hirtius affirmed, namely, that Antony is afraid that, if we got even a moderate assistance in support of our position, there would be no part left for them to play in the state. Being in these straits I determined to demand a free legation¹ for myself and the rest of us, in order to obtain a decent excuse for leaving the city. He promised that he would procure it, but I don't feel sure that he will do so; for people are so unreasonable and the set against us is so strong. Even if they granted our request, I yet think that before long we should be declared public enemies and forbidden water and fire.

"What, then," you say, "is your advice?" We must yield to fortune: we must quit Italy I think, and retire to Rhodes² or some place or other in the world. If any improvement occurs we will return to Rome. If things go only fairly well we will live in exile; if the worst comes to the worst, we will have recourse to extreme measures in our support.³ Perhaps it will here occur to one of you—why should we wait for the worst, rather than make some attempt at once? Because we have no one to depend upon for safety except Sextus Pompeius and Cæcilius Bassus,⁴ who I think are likely to be still more determined when they hear the news about Cæsar. It will be soon enough for us to join them when we know their strength. If you wish me to give any undertaking for Cassius and yourself, I will give it: for Hirtius demands that I should do so. I beg you to answer this letter as promptly as possible—for I have no doubt that Hirtius will inform me on these points⁵ before ten o'clock

¹ See p. 26, and vol. i., p. 110, note. *and Tyr. I³ 314.*

² Rhodes was a *libera civitas*, and had the right of receiving exiles (*ius exilii*).

³ That is, take up arms against the government.

⁴ Sext. Pompeius had a large fleet in Sicily and neighbouring islands. Cæcilius Bassus was in arms in Syria (see vol. iii., p. 335). Both were at present in a position independent of either party in the state.

⁵ That is, as to the *libera legatio* and the guard.

—and tell me where we can meet and to what place you wish me to come.

After my last conversation with Hirtius I decided to ask that we should be allowed to remain at Rome under the protection of a state guard. I don't think they will concede that; for we shall be casting a grave slur upon them. However, I thought I must not omit to make any demand which I considered equitable.

DCXCVIII (F VI, 16)

AULUS POMPEIUS BITHYNICUS¹ TO CICERO
(AT ROME)

SICILY (MARCH)

IF I had not personally many valid causes for friendship with you, I would have referred to the origin of that friendship which began with our fathers. But that is, I think, only to be done by those who have not kept up a paternal friendship by any good offices themselves. I shall be content therefore with our own personal friendship, in reliance on which I beg you to protect me in my absence, with the assurance that no kindness on your part will ever fade from my mind. Good-bye.

¹ Prætor of Sicily, and a partisan of Cæsar. He seems to think that Cæsar's death may put him in a dangerous position, in which Cicero may be of use to him. See Cicero's answer, Letter DCCVIII., p. 14.

DCXCIX (F XV, 20)

TO GAIUS TREBONIUS (ON HIS WAY TO ASIA)

(ROME OR TUSCULUM (?), APRIL)

MY ORATOR—for that is the title I have given it—I have handed to your Sabine servant. His nationality made me think that he was a proper person to whom to give it: unless he too has availed himself of the licence of candidates and has suddenly adopted this surname. However, the modesty of his look and the gravity of his conversation seemed to me to smack somewhat of Cures.¹ But enough about Sabinus.

Since at your departure, my dear Trebonius, while wishing to aid me to bear with greater patience my warm regret for your absence, you only poured a good deal of oil on the fire of my love for you, pray bombard me with frequent letters on the understanding that I will do the same to you. There are, however, two reasons why you should be more regular in performing that service than myself: First, that in old days those remaining at Rome were accustomed to write on public affairs to their friends in the provinces; whereas you are now bound to write to us: for the Republic is there. Secondly, because I have the opportunity of serving you during your absence in other ways, while I do not see how you can do that for me except by letters. But you must write on other matters to me afterwards; at present the first thing I desire to know is what sort of journey you are having; where you have seen our friend Brutus, how long you have been together. Presently, when you have got farther on your way, you must write to me about military affairs, and the whole business, that I may know how we

¹ Cicero is referring to the primitive manners and morals of the Sabines—often celebrated by Horace. The reference to the possible assumption of a name after the manner of candidates is believed to refer to Ventidius Bassus having done so in his canvass this year for the prætorship.

stand.¹ I shall not look upon any information as certain except what I get from your letters. Take care of your health, and preserve your old supreme affection for me.

DCC (A XIV, 1)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

MATIUS'S SUBURBAN VILLA, 7 APRIL

I HAVE come on a visit to the man, of whom I was talking to you this morning.² His view is that "the state of things is perfectly shocking: that there is no way out of the *embroglio*. For if a man of Cæsar's genius failed, who can hope to succeed?" In short, he says that the ruin is complete. I am not sure that he is wrong; but then he rejoices in it, and declares that within twenty days there will be a rising in Gaul: that he has not had any conversation with anyone except Lepidus since the Ides of March: finally that these things can't pass off like this. What a wise man Oppius is, who regrets Cæsar quite as much, but yet says nothing that can offend any loyalist! But enough of this. Pray don't be idle about writing me word of anything new, for I expect a great deal. Among other things, whether we can rely on Sextus Pompeius; but above all about our friend Brutus, of whom my host says that Cæsar was in the habit of remarking: "It is of great import-

¹ Recent editors—except Tyrrell and Purser—place this letter at the end of B.C. 46 or the beginning of B.C. 45. It is no doubt strange that, writing to one of the assassins, Cicero should not refer to Cæsar's death or the change it had made. But there are reasons against thinking that the journey referred to was that which Trebonius took to Narbo, for that was in B.C. 45, about the time of the battle of Munda (2 *Phil.* § 34), and Cicero would hardly have said that he relied entirely on Trebonius for authentic information as to the Spanish campaign; whereas he went to Asia with a full understanding with the Anti-Cæsarians that he was to organize a force in Asia to aid Brutus and Cassius. The *Orator* was no doubt now a year and a half old; but Trebonius may have asked for a copy on his journey, for he was in Spain when it first appeared.

² Gaius Matius (Calvena), as shewn in the letters following.

ance what that man wishes ; at any rate, whatever he wishes he wishes strongly" : and that he noticed, when he was pleading for Deiotarus at Nicæa,¹ that he seemed to speak with great spirit and freedom. Also—for I like to jot down things as they occur to me—that when on the request of Sestius I went to Cæsar's house, and was sitting waiting till I was called in, he remarked : "Can I doubt that I am exceedingly disliked, when Marcus Cicero has to sit waiting and cannot see me at his own convenience? And yet if there is a good-natured man in the world it is he ; still I feel no doubt that he heartily dislikes me." This and a good deal of the same sort. But to my purpose. Whatever the news, small as well as great, write and tell me of it. I will on my side let nothing pass.

DCCI (A XIV, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 8 APRIL

I RECEIVED two letters from you yesterday. The first informed me of the scene in the theatre and at Publilius's mime²—a good sign of the unanimous feeling of the people at large. Indeed the applause given to Lucius Cassius appeared to me even a trifle effusive.³

Your second letter was about our friend Bald-pate.⁴ He

¹ In B.C. 47, when Cæsar was on his way home from the Pontic campaign. Deiotarus had been Pompeian, and was afterwards accused of having attempted to poison Cæsar, but the subject of Brutus' pleading was whether he was to retain his dominions.

² At the representation of a mime of Publilius Sura, during which the people, as usual, had cheered their favourites.

³ L. Cassius (brother of C. Cassius) had been a Cæsarian, but bad in some way shewn sympathy with the assassins, and though tribune had been threatened with death by Antony if he came into the senate (3 *Phil.* § 35). Cicero thinks applause given to him shews popular feeling for the party of the assassins.

⁴ *Madaro* = *μαδάρῳ* = "Baldhead," a pun on the cognomen of Cicero's host, C. Matius *Calvena*. The next sentence is almost desperate. The

has no tendency to savage measures, as you imagine. For he has advanced, though not very far.

I have been detained rather a long time by his talk : but as to what I told you in my last, perhaps I did put it obscurely. It was this. He said Cæsar remarked to him, on the occasion of my calling on him at the request of Sestius and having to sit waiting : " Do you suppose I am such a fool as to think that this man, good-natured as he is, can like me, when he has to sit all this time waiting on my convenience ? " ¹

Well then, there's your Bald-pate bitterly opposed to the public peace, that is, to Brutus.

I go to Tusculum to-day ; to-morrow at Lanuvium ; thence I think of staying at Astura. I shall be glad to see Pilia, but I could have wished for Attica also. However, I forgive you. Kind regards to both.

DCCII (A XIV, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM (9 APRIL)

YOUR letter has a peaceful tone. I hope it may last ! for Matius declared it impossible. Here are my builders who went to Rome to purchase corn, and returning empty-handed, bring a loud report that at Rome all corn is being

MSS. have *φαλάκωμα*, which means nothing. I think that Atticus from Cicero's last letter gathered that Matius—a strong Cæsarian—was for violent measures ; that Cicero means here to modify it, and to say that he has moved somewhat in the direction of conciliation, though not far enough, for he is still bitterly opposed to Brutus. I therefore propose for the unintelligible *φαλάκωμα* a word used by Atticus before (vii. 12), *nullus φαλαρισμός*.

¹ It is very likely that Cicero wrote this letter in his carriage on the way to Tusculum. He explains that he is late, having been detained by the talk of Matius, but he has just time to repeat the story that follows more clearly than in his last letter. It comes in parenthetically in the middle of his observations about Matius, just as a man might jot down things on a journey.

collected into Antony's quarters.¹ It must certainly be a mere panic rumour; for you would have written to tell me about it. Balbus's man Corumbus has not as yet put in an appearance. I know him by name very well; for he is said to be a skilful architect. The motive of inviting you to witness the sealing of wills is, I think, evident: they want me to think that the disposition of their property is of this kind.² I don't know why they should not be sincere as well. But what does it matter to me? However, try and get scent of what Antony's disposition is. Yet I am inclined to think that he is more occupied with his banquets than with any mischievous designs. If you have any news of practical importance, write and tell me: if not, at any rate tell me whom the people cheered in the theatre and the latest *bons mots* of the mimes. Love to Pilia and Attica.

DCCIII (A XIV, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

LANUVIUM (10 APRIL)

WHAT news do you suppose I get now at Lanuvium? But I suspect that at Rome you hear something fresh every day. Matters are coming to a crisis: for when Matius talks like that, what do you think the rest will do? My vexation is that—as never happened before in any free state—the constitution has not been recovered along with liberty. It makes one shudder to hear their talk and their threats. Moreover, I am afraid of a rising in Gaul also, as well as of the line Sextus Pompeius may take. But come one, come all, the Ides of March console me. Moreover, our "heroes," as far as anything decisive could be accomplished by their

¹ Antony, who had been voted a body-guard after the assassination of Cæsar, had continually added to its number till he had an army of about 6,000 men in or just outside Rome (App. *B. C.* iii. 5; 2 *Phil.* § 108).

² I think this must refer to some definite persons mentioned by Atticus, who had some reason to wish to stand well with Cicero (see p. 29).

unaided efforts, accomplished it in the most glorious and most magnificent manner. The rest requires material resources and troops, neither of which we possess. So far I am giving you information: it is your turn now to send me promptly anything fresh that occurs—for I expect something every day—and if there is nothing fresh, nevertheless let us keep up our habit of allowing no break in our interchange of notes. I certainly will allow none.

DCCIV (A XIV, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ASTURA (11 APRIL)

I HOPE you are now as well as I could wish—for you were fasting owing to a slight indisposition: still, I should like to know how you are.¹ Among good signs is Calvena's annoyance at being an object of suspicion to Brutus. It will be a bad symptom if the legions come from Gaul with their ensigns. What think you as to those that were already in Spain—won't they make the same demands? As also those that Annius has taken across thither? I didn't mean *Annius*, I meant to say C. Asinius.² It was a slip of memory. A fine *embroglio* the Gambler³ has brought about! For that conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen would have been easily put down, if Antony had had his wits about him. How foolishly

¹ We have heard once or twice before of some illnesses of Atticus, but Nepos says that he had no occasion for medicine for thirty years of his life. He seems, however, to have had a tendency to stomach disorders which he treated by fasting (Nep. *Att.* 21, 22).

² That is, C. Asinius Pollio, now governor of Hispania Ulterior.

³ *Aleatore*. Cicero makes a good deal of Antony's gambling propensities in 2 *Phil.* §§ 35, 67. But the reading is doubtful. Mueller reads *balneatore*, in which case it may refer to the pseudo-Marius, the leader in these disorders (see vol. iii., p. 256). They took the form of mass meetings round the column and altar set up by this man to mark the spot where Cæsar's body was buried. Eventually Dolabella pulled it down and executed some of the most violent of the rioters (1 *Phil.* § 5; 2 *Phil.* § 107; *infra*, pp. 12, 13).

scrupulous I was not to accept a free legation before the vacation! I didn't wish to appear to shirk this ferment: for if it had been possible for me to remedy it, I should certainly have been bound to stick to my post. But you see what sort of magistrates we have—if magistrates they are to be called. You see, after all, the tyrant's hangers-on in enjoyment of *imperium*, you see his armies, his veterans on our flank! All these are materials easily fanned into a flame. While the men who ought not merely to be hedged round, but to be protected by the watchful care of all the world, you see merely made the objects of commendation and affection, but confined within the walls of their houses. Yet they—whatever their position—are happy. It is the state that is wretched.

But I should like to know something about the arrival of Octavius.¹ Is there a great flocking to visit him, any suspicion of a *coup* on his part? I don't expect it myself: still I should like to know the truth whatever it is.

I write this to you on the point of starting from Astura, 11th of April.

DCCV (A XIV, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FUNDI, 12 APRIL

ON the 12th I received your letter at Fundi while at dinner. First—you are better: second—you give better news. For that was a disquieting report about the legions coming. As

¹ C. Octavius (the future Augustus) was at Apollonia in Epirus when the letter from his mother informed him of his great-uncle's death. The legions in the neighbourhood, that had wintered there to be ready for Cæsar's expedition against the Getæ, offered him their support. But he refused it and started for Italy with his friends. Cicero seems to think that he was already in Rome, but he did not go there for some weeks. He went to his mother and stepfather's villa near Cumæ, where he now is and where Cicero a little later met him. Cicero still calls him *Octavius*—not Octavianus—an indication that he was not (as some have

for Octavius, it is of no consequence. I want to hear about Marius:¹ I thought he had been got rid of by Cæsar. Antony's conversation with our "heroes" is not unsatisfactory in the circumstances. But after all the only thing so far that gives me any pleasure is the Ides of March. For as I am at Fundi with my friend Ligur, I am vexed to the heart that the estate of a Sextilius is in the hands of a rascally Curtilius.² And in mentioning that instance I include a whole class of similar cases. For what can be more contemptible than that we should maintain the measures which caused us to detest him? Are we also to have the consuls and tribunes which he chooses for the next two years? I see no possibility of my taking part in the administration of affairs. For could there be a more flagrant solecism than that the tyrannicides should be exalted to the skies, the tyrant's administrative acts defended? But you see what sort of consuls and other magistrates we have—if they are to be called magistrates! You see the indifference of the loyalists. In the municipal towns they are jumping for joy. In fact I can't describe to you how rejoiced they are, how they flock to see me, how eager they are to hear me speak on the state of the Republic. Meanwhile, however, we can get no decrees out of the senate. The result of our policy is that we stand in awe of the conquered party. I write this to you after the dessert has been put on the table. More another time, and more exclusively political. Mind you let me know how you are and what is going on.

maintained) adopted in his uncle's lifetime. After adoption his name is Gaius Iulius Cæsar Octavianus.

¹ The impostor or pseudo-Marius, of whom see *ante*, p. 9; vol. iii., p. 256.

² Land granted by Cæsar to his freedman Curtilius. Cæsar placed his veterans in Campania with allotments of land.

DCCVI (A XIV, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 15 APRIL

ON the 14th I saw Paullus at Caieta. He told me some really odious stories about Marius,¹ and the state of the Republic. From you of course I have nothing, for none of my letter-carriers have arrived. But I hear that our friend Brutus has been seen near Lanuvium. Where in the world is he going to be? For I want to know all about this, as well as everything else. I write this at the moment of leaving my Formian villa on the 15th, intending to be at Puteoli the next day.

I have had a very well written and pretty long letter from my son. Other things may be put on, but the classic style of his letter shews that he is improving in scholarship. Now I beg you earnestly—a point on which I recently spoke to you—to see that he is not in want of anything. That is a duty on my part, and also concerns my reputation and position: which I perceive is your opinion also. Of course if I go to Greece in July, as is my present intention, everything will be easier; but as the present state of affairs makes it impossible to be sure of what is consistent with my honour, or within my power, or to my interest to do, pray make it your business to see that we give him an allowance on the most honourable and liberal scale. Pray, as usual, think over these or other matters of importance to me, and write and tell me anything that concerns me, or, if there is nothing, then anything that comes into your head.

¹ The riots round the column raised in honour of Cæsar by the false Marius. See pp. 9, 11, 13, etc.

DCCVII (A, XIV, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

SINUESSA, 15 APRIL

YES, you thought when you wrote that I was already in my seaside houses, and I received your letter on the 15th, whilst in my little lodge at Sinuessa. As to Marius, excellent!¹ Yet I sympathize with the grandson of Lucius Crassus.² I am glad that Antony's conduct is so much approved even by our friend Brutus. For as to your saying that Iunia has brought a letter³ written in a moderate and friendly spirit—Paullus⁴ shewed me one which he had received from his brother, at the end of which he said that he knew there was a plot forming against himself, and that he had ascertained it on undoubted authority. I wasn't pleased with that, and Paullus much less so. I am not sorry for the Queen's⁵ flight. I should like you to tell me what Clodia has done. See to the business of the Byzantines, as everything else, and send for Pelops to come and see you.⁶ I will, as you ask, see to the fellows at Baiæ and all that lot, about whom you wish to know; and when I have seen how things stand, I will write and tell you everything. What the Gauls, the Spaniards, and Sextus Pompeius are doing I am

¹ For the impostor, see vol. iii., p. 256. Antony had just put him to death without trial (App. B. C. iii. 3). For the lodge at Sinuessa, see vol. iii., p. 367.

² Ironical, for this Amatius, calling himself Marius, claimed to be the son of the younger Marius, who appears to have married a daughter of the celebrated orator L. Crassus (*ob.* B.C. 91).

³ From her husband M. Lepidus (the future triumvir) to her brother Brutus.

⁴ L. Æmilius (Lepidus), who had taken the name of *Paullus* from adoption, brother of the triumvir. Consul B.C. 50.

⁵ Cleopatra, who had been staying at Rome—in Caesar's trans-tiberine *horti*—at the time of the assassination.

⁶ We know nothing of this business, but Plutarch (*Cic.* 25) says that Cicero wrote to a Byzantine named Pelops in Greek in regard to some honours the Byzantines proposed to bestow on him.

anxious to hear. You will of course make all that clear to me, as you have done everything else. I am not sorry that your slight attack of sickness has given you an excuse for taking a holiday; for as I read your letter I thought you had had a short rest. Always write and tell me everything about Brutus, where he is, what he is thinking of doing. I do hope that by this time he is able even without a guard to wander in safety in any part of the city. But after all——

DCCVIII (F VI, 17)

TO AULUS POMPEIUS BITHYNICUS (IN
SICILY)

CAMPANIA (APRIL)

FOR every reason I am anxious for the constitution to be at length put on a sound footing; but, believe me, an additional motive for desiring it still more is supplied me by the promise conveyed in your letter. You say in it that, if that is ever the case, you will pass your time in my society. Such a wish on your part is highly gratifying to me, and is entirely in accord with our close friendship and with the opinion your illustrious father entertained of me. For believe me when I say that others, who have had at times or still have ¹ the opportunity, may be more closely united to you by the amount of their services than I am, but that in friendship no one can be so. Accordingly, I am gratified both by your recollection of our intimacy and by your wish to increase it.²

¹ Reading *aut valent*.

² For the letter to which this is answer, see DCXCVIII., p. 3.

DCCIX (A XIV, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 18 APRIL

I HAVE learnt a good deal about public affairs from your letters, a considerable batch of which I received at the same time from the freedman of Vestorius. However, to your questions I shall make a short answer. I must premise that I am delighted with the Cluvian estate.¹ As to your question about the reason for my having sent for Chrysippus—two of my shops have fallen down and the rest are cracking. So not only the tenants but the very mice have migrated. Other people call this a misfortune, I don't call it even a nuisance. Oh Socrates and Socratic philosophers, I shall never be able to thank you enough! Good heavens, how paltry such things are in my eyes! But after all I am adopting a plan of building on the suggestion and advice of Vestorius, which will convert this loss into a gain.

Here there is a great crowd of visitors and there will, I hear, be a greater still. Our two consuls-designate forsooth!² Good God, the tyranny survives though the tyrant is dead! We rejoice at his assassination, yet support his acts! Accordingly, M. Curtius³ criticises us with such severity that one feels ashamed to be alive. And not without reason: for it had been better to die a thousand deaths than to endure the present state of things, which seems to me likely to be more than a passing phase. Balbus too is here and often at my house. He has had a letter from Vetus, dated on the last day of the year, announcing that "when he was investing Cæcilius Bassus, and was on the point of compelling him

¹ Some property that had been left to Cicero and others by Cluvius of Puteoli. Cicero had bought out his co-heirs (vol. iii., p. 321).

² Pansa and Hirtius had been designated consuls by Cæsar, though probably a form of election had been gone through.

³ M. Curtius Postumus, an ardent Cæsarian. See vol. ii., p. 316.

to surrender, the Parthian Pacorus arrived with an immense force: that accordingly Bassus was snatched from his hands, for which he blames Volcatius."¹ Accordingly, I think that a war there is imminent. But that will be the affair of Dolabella and Nicias.² Balbus also gives better news from Gaul.³ He has a letter dated twenty-one days back announcing that the Germans and the tribes there, on hearing about Cæsar's death, sent legates to Aurelius, who was put in command by Hirtius, promising obedience. In short, everything speaks of peace in those parts, contrary to what Calvena said to me.⁴

DCCX (A XIV, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 19 APRIL

CAN it be true? Is this all that our noble Brutus has accomplished—that he should have to live at Lanuvium, and Trebonius should have to slink to his province by by-roads? That all the acts, memoranda, words, promises, and projects of Cæsar should have more validity than if he were still

¹ Q. Cæcilius Bassus (quæstor B.C. 59) escaped from Pharsalia to Syria, where he induced some of the soldiers of the prætor Sext. Iulius to murder their commander and join him, asserting that he had been appointed proprætor of Syria, and maintained himself for three years in Apamea till Cassius arrived early in B.C. 45. C. Antistius Vetus, who had been with Cæsar in Spain in B.C. 61-60, had apparently been sent out specially to attack him. Volcatius is probably L. Volcatius Tullus, prætor in B.C. 46.

² Dolabella had been allotted the province of Syria. Nicias Curtius of Cos was a Greek grammarian who had been with Cicero in Cilicia (vol. ii., p. 221), and was now with Dolabella as secretary-friend, and Cicero jestingly supposes that he will have to take part in the war.

³ That is Belgic Gaul, where a rising had been feared. See p. 5.

⁴ See Letter DCC. C. Matius Calvena had prophesied a rising in Gaul. Hirtius, though he had been made governor of Gallia Belgica by Cæsar in B.C. 44, had not gone to the province, but had governed it by a deputy.

alive? Do you remember that on that very first day of the retreat upon the Capitol I exclaimed that the senate should be summoned into the Capitoline temple? Good heavens, what might have been effected then, when all loyalists—even semi-loyalists—were exultant, and the brigands utterly dismayed! You lay the blame on the Liberalia.¹ What was possible at the time? Our case had long been hopeless. Do you remember that you explained that it was all over with us, if he were allowed a funeral? But he was even burnt in the forum, and a funeral oration was pronounced over him in moving terms, and a number of slaves and starvelings instigated to attack our houses with firebrands. What next! They even have the impudence to say: "You utter a word against the will of Cæsar?" These and other things like

¹ That is, on what was done in the senate on the 17th of March. The course of events referred to is as follows:

(a) March 15th. Cæsar is assassinated in the Curia Pompei about noon. The conspirators (joined by some who wished to be thought in the plot) marched through the city protected by Dec. Brutus's gladiators and barricaded themselves on the Capitol.

There they were visited by Cicero and others.

In the afternoon Brutus and Cassius ventured down into the forum and addressed the people, but then returned to the Capitol.

(b) March 16th was spent in various negotiations with the consul Antony and with Lepidus, who had an army in the city. In the evening Antony issued a summons for a meeting of the senate next day in the temple of Tellus (near his own house).

(c) March 17th. At the meeting of the senate (to which the assassins were summoned, but did not come) Cicero spoke in favour of an amnesty. Dio (44, 23-33) professes to give his speech. At this meeting decrees or resolutions were passed:

(1) That there should be a general amnesty, *i.e.*, no prosecution of the assassins.

(2) That Cæsar's *acta* should be confirmed.

(3) That grants of land made or promised to the veterans should hold good.

(4) That Cæsar should be allowed a public funeral, and that Piso (his father-in-law) should publish his will.

It was the funeral and the recitation of the will to which Atticus (as did Cicero, 2 *Phil.* § 89) attributed the revulsion of public feeling and the mischief which followed. The best account of the scene in the senate and of how this last resolution was carried is in Appian, *B. C.* ii. 126-136. The will was read and the funeral took place apparently on the 18th. The bill declaring it illegal to nominate any man dictator was apparently brought in by Antony a few days later in consequence of a vote in this meeting.

them I cannot endure, and accordingly I am thinking of wandering away "from land to land." Your land,¹ however, is too much in the eye of the wind.

Is your sickness quite gone by this time? I rather judged so from the tone of your letter.

I return to the case of the veterans—your Tebassi, Scævæ, and Frangones. Do you suppose these men feel any confidence in retaining their grants so long as our party have any footing in the state? They have found it possessed of more resolution than they expected. They, I presume, are devoted to the cause of public tranquillity rather than supporters of robbery! But when I wrote to you about Curtilius and the estate of Sextilius, I must be understood to have included Censorinus, Messalla, Plancus, Postumus,² and the whole lot. It had been better to have risked destruction³—which would never have befallen us—when Cæsar was killed, rather than to have lived to see this sort of thing.

Octavius arrived at Naples on the 18th of April. There Balbus called on him early next day, and on the same day came to see me at Cumæ, with the information that he intended to accept the inheritance,⁴ but that, as you say, there will be a fine scrimmage with Antony. Your business about Buthrotum⁵ is receiving, as it is bound to do, and will continue to receive my attention. You ask me whether Cluvius's legacy is reaching one hundred sestertia yet. It seems to be approaching that. At least I made eighty the first year.

My brother Quintus writes to me with heavy complaints of his son, chiefly because he is now taking his mother's

¹ Epirus. He seems to mean that it is too easy of access to his enemies. He must go farther.

² All men enriched in various ways by Cæsar's confiscations. For Sextilius see p. 11.

³ That is, by taking strong measures. This seems the only meaning possible if the MS. reading, *quod nunquam accidisset*, is retained, but I doubt whether the meaning is to be got out of the Latin. It would be at any rate much more intelligible if we read with Gronovius, *quod utinam accidisset*. What Cicero really wrote is of course the question—and of this MSS. are the best though not the certain guides.

⁴ His stepfather Philippus had advised him not to accept the inheritance and adoption (Nicol. Dam. 18).

⁵ The saving the Buthrotians from confiscation of land for the colony of Cæsar's veterans sent there. See pp. 19, 20, etc.

part, whereas in old times when she was kind to him he was on bad terms with her. He sent me a very hot letter against him. If you know what the young man is doing, and have not yet left Rome, I wish you would write me word, and, by Hercules, on any other matter besides. I find great pleasure in your letters.

DCCXI (A XIV, 11)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

(PUTEOLI) 21 APRIL

THE day before yesterday I sent you a fairly long letter. Now I will answer your last. I only wish to heaven Brutus would stay at Astura. You mention the "intemperance"¹ of the Cæsarians. Did you expect anything else? For my part, I look for worse things. For when I read his speech "Concerning so great a man," "Concerning a most illustrious citizen," I can scarcely contain myself; yet all that sort of thing is now really ludicrous. But remember this: the habit of delivering unprincipled speeches is being fostered to such a pitch that our—I won't say heroes—our gods, while sure of eternal glory, will yet not escape prejudice or even danger. They, however, have a great consolation in the consciousness of a most magnificent and noble deed: what consolation is there for us, who, though the tyrant is slain, are not free? But let fortune look to this, since reason is not at the helm. What you say about my son is very gratifying—God bless him! I am exceedingly obliged to you for arranging that he should have an allowance ample for the amenities as well as the necessities of life; and I emphatically beg you to continue to do so. About the Buthrotians your idea is quite right. I am not losing sight of that affair. I will undertake to plead the entire case, and I perceive that it daily grows simpler. As to the Cluvian inheritance, since in

¹ ἀκολασίαν. Cicero is no doubt quoting the exact word used by Atticus.

all business of mine you even surpass me in interest—I may tell you that the total is approaching one hundred sestertia. The fall of the houses did not depreciate the value of the property: I am not sure that it didn't increase it.¹ I have here with me Balbus, Hirtius, and Pansa. Octavius has lately arrived at the next villa to mine, that of Philippus.² He is quite devoted to me. Spinther is staying with me to-day: he goes early to-morrow.

DCCXII (A XIV, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 22 APRIL

AN, my dear Atticus, I fear the Ides of March have brought us nothing beyond exultation, and the satisfaction of our anger and resentment. What news reaches me from Rome! What things are going on here under my eyes! Yes, it was a fine piece of work, but inconclusive after all! You know how fond I am of the Sicilians, and what an honour I consider it to be their patron. Cæsar granted them many privileges with my full approval, though their having the *ius Latinum* was intolerable; yet, after all——

But look at Antony! For an enormous bribe he has put up a law—alleged to have been carried at the *comitia* by the dictator, granting the Sicilians full Roman citizenship; though while he was alive there was never a word said about it. Again: take the case of my client Deiotarus, isn't it exactly parallel? He, of course, deserved any kingdom you please, but not through Fulvia.³ There are hundreds of

¹ See p. 15.

² The stepfather of Octavius. It was the policy of Octavius for the present to feign devotion to the *boni* as a protection against Antony. He presently made them see what his real feeling to them was, though he sincerely admired and liked Cicero.

³ Deiotarus of Galatia, whom Cicero had defended before Cæsar, was restored by Antony to the possession of lesser Armenia—who alleged a minute of Cæsar's; but really, Cicero says, because Deiotarus had bribed

similar cases. However, I come back to this: shall I not be able to maintain in some degree the case of Buthrotium—a case so clear, so fully supported by witnesses, and so intrinsically just?¹ And indeed all the more so that Antony is being so lavish in his grants? Octavius here treats me with great respect and friendliness. His own people addressed him as “Cæsar,” but Philippus did not, so I did not do so either.² I declare that it is impossible for him to be a good citizen.³ He is surrounded by such a number of people, who even threaten our friends with death. He says the present state of things is unendurable. But what do you think of it, when a boy like that goes to Rome, where our liberators cannot be in safety. They indeed will always be illustrious, and even happy, from the consciousness of their great deed. But for us, unless I am mistaken, we shall be ruined. Therefore I long to leave the country and go “Where of the Pelopidæ,” etc.⁴ I don’t like even these consuls-designate,⁵ who have actually forced me to give them some declamations, to prevent my having any rest even at the seaside. But that’s what I get by being too good-natured. For in old times declamation was in a

Fulvia. In 2 *Phil.* § 93 Cicero says that Deiotarus repossessed himself of his dominions by force on hearing of Cæsar’s death, and will therefore demur to paying the sum agreed upon by his agents. Cicero’s objection to the citizenship of the Sicilians is the loss of revenue, for they would no longer pay *tributum* (2 *Phil.* § 92).

¹ Cicero means that Cæsar had promised to revoke the confiscation of lands in the territory of Buthrotum, and this promise—besides being just—can be testified to by many. If Antony carries out his measures on *pretended* minutes of Cæsar, surely this genuine one ought to hold good.

² Being adopted in Cæsar’s will the future Augustus was now properly Gaius Iulius Cæsar Octavianus (the adjectival form of his original name, as usual). But this adoption required a formal confirmation by a *lex curiata*—which Antony managed to postpone till August B.C. 43. Meanwhile his friends gave him by courtesy the name which he was entitled to claim, but to which he had not yet technically a full right. We shall find Cicero calling him Octavianus by-and-by, but not “Cæsar” till it became necessary to compliment him.

³ Reading *bonum civem esse*. By omitting *esse* Cicero is made to say that no good citizen could call him “Cæsar,” as it would be acknowledging the adoption. This seems to me much too strong. Cicero had consented to the confirmation of Cæsar’s public *acta*, surely it would be unreasonable to reject the disposition of his private property.

⁴ See vol. iii., p. 100.

⁵ Pansa and Hirtius.

manner a necessity of my existence : now, however things turn out, it is not so. For what a long time now have I had nothing to write to you about ! Yet I do write, not to give you any pleasure by this letter, but to extract one from you. Pray write on every sort of thing, but anyhow about Brutus, whatever there is to say. I write this on the 22nd of April, while dining with Vestorius, a man who has no idea of philosophy, but is well versed in figures.¹

DCCXIII (A XIV, 13 a)

M. ANTONIUS TO CICERO (AT PUTEOLI)

SOUTH ITALY, ABOUT 24 APRIL

I WAS prevented by my engagements, and by your own sudden departure from town, from mentioning to you a request by word of mouth, which I fear will have less weight in your eyes owing to its not being personally presented. But if your liberality answers to the opinion which I have always entertained of you I shall rejoice. I asked Cæsar for the restoration of Sextus Clodius.² I obtained my request. It was in my mind even at the time only to avail myself of the favour if you did not object. I am therefore the more anxious to be allowed to do it now with your acquiescence. But if you shew yourself sternly inclined towards his distressing and ruinous position, I will not contest the matter with you ; though I consider myself bound to carry out a minute of Cæsar's. But, by Hercules, if you are inclined to take a large-hearted philosophical and kindly view of my proceedings, you will certainly shew your good nature

¹ Vestorius was a banker of Puteoli, often mentioned in the letters. For writing letters at the dinner table, see p. 11 ; vol. iii., p. 102.

² A *scriba* and hanger-on of Publius Clodius, called Athenio in vol. i., p. 99. He had been acquitted on a charge of *vis* by a narrow majority in B.C. 56 (vol. i., p. 221), but was condemned in B.C. 52 on account of the riots following the death of his patron and the burning of the Curia (*pro Mil.* § 90 ; Asconius, § 55).

and will wish P. Clodius,¹ a boy of very great promise, to feel that you have not been inveterate to his father's friends. I beg you to suffer it to be seen that you quarrelled with his father on public grounds only. Of this family you can have no reason for thinking meanly. It is of course more to our honour, and more agreeable to our feelings, to give up quarrels undertaken on public grounds than those that are the result of personal prejudice. Let me then at once lead the youth to think and be convinced, while his mind is young and impressionable, that enmities are not to be transmitted to another generation. Although your fortunes, my dear Cicero, are now, I feel assured, removed from every danger, nevertheless I think you would prefer spending a peaceful and honoured old age rather than one full of anxiety. Finally, I claim a right to ask this favour of you myself; for I have omitted nothing that I could do for your sake. But if I don't obtain it I shall not make this grant to Clodius as far as I am concerned, in order that you may understand what weight your authority has with me, and may on that account shew yourself all the more placable.

DCCXIV (A XIV, 13 b)

TO M. ANTONIUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 26 APRIL

THE request you make to me by letter I have only one reason for wishing that you had made personally. For in that case you would have been able to perceive my affection for you not merely by my language, but from my "expression, eyes, and brow"—as the phrase goes. For while I have always loved you—incited thereto at first by your zeal in my service and then by your actual favours—so in these times the interests of the state have so recommended me to you, that there is no one whom I regard with warmer

¹ Son of P. Clodius by Fulvia, whom Antony had married.

affection. Moreover, the very affectionate and complimentary tone of your letter had such an effect upon me that I felt as though I were not doing you a favour, but receiving one from you, when you qualified your request by an assurance that you would not restore a personal enemy of mine, who was a friend of your own, if I did not wish it, though you could have done so without any trouble. Of course, my dear Antony, I give you my free consent, besides acknowledging that by expressing yourself as you have done you have treated me with the utmost liberality and courtesy. And while I should have thought it my duty to have granted what you ask without reserve, whatever the circumstances, I now grant it as a concession to my own feelings and inclination. For I never had a spark, I won't say of bitterness, in me, but even of sternness or severity beyond what the service of the state required. I may add that even against Clodius himself my exasperation has never been extravagant, and I have always held that the friends of my enemies were not proper objects for attack, especially those in a lower position of life. Nor ought we ourselves to be deprived of such supporters.

As for the boy Clodius, I think it is your duty to imbue what you call "his young and impressionable" mind with the conviction that no vindictive feelings remain between our families. I fought P. Clodius, since I was supporting the interests of the state, he his own. Upon the merits of our controversies the state has decided. If he were now alive, I should have had no cause of contention with him remaining. Wherefore, since you put this request to me with the reservation that you will not avail yourself of what is undoubtedly within your power against my wishes, please grant this to the boy also as a present from me, if you think it right. Not because a man of my age need suspect any danger from a boy of his, nor because a man in my position has reason to shrink from any controversy,¹ but that we may be still more closely united than we have as yet been: for owing to the intervention of these feuds your heart has been more open to me than your house. But enough

¹ An answer to Antony's veiled threat at the end of his letter as to "a quiet old age" (p. 23).

of this. I will only add, that I shall always zealously do without hesitation whatever I think to be your wish and to your advantage.¹

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DCCXV (A XIV, 13)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 26 APRIL

YOUR letter of the 19th did not reach me till the seventh day. In it you ask me (and even seem to think I can't answer) which of the two I like best—hills and a fine view or a walk along a flat coast. Well, it is quite true that, as you say, the charm of both spots is so great, that I can't make up my mind which is to be preferred.

“ But 'tis no time to think of dainty fare,
When heaven upon us rolls this cloud of woe :
We look and shudder—is it life or death ? ”²

For though you have sent me important and welcome news about Decimus Brutus having joined his legions,³ in which I see the promise of very great things. Nevertheless, if there is to be a civil war, as there is sure to be, if Sextus Pompeius is going to remain in arms—as I know for certain he will—what I am to do I am at loss to conceive. For it will not be allowable now, as it was in Cæsar's war, to go neither to the one nor to the other. For anyone that this party shall believe to have rejoiced at Cæsar's death—and we all of us shewed our joy in the most open way—they will consider in the light of a public enemy: and that means a formidable massacre. The only resource is to go

¹ Antony quoted this letter in his speech in the Senate in answer to the first Philippic (September 19th). See 2 *Phil.* §§ 7-10.

² Homer, *Il.* ix. 228. It is no time—Cicero means—to be thinking about picturesque scenery in the midst of these troubles.

³ Decimus Brutus had been named to the government of Gallia Cisalpina by Cæsar, and had gone there in spite of Antony's opposition, see p. 2. He had three legions there (App. *B. C.* iii. 6).

to the camp of Sextus Pompeius or perhaps to that of Brutus. It is a tiresome step and quite unsuitable to our time of life, considering the uncertainty of war, and somehow or another I can say to you and you to me :

“ My son, the deeds of war are not for you :
Seek rather thou the witching works of ”—speech.¹

But I will leave all this to chance, which in such matters is more powerful than design. For ourselves let us only take care—a thing which is within our power—that we bear whatever happens with courage and philosophy, remember that we are but mortal, and allow literature to console us much, but the Ides of March most of all.

Now join me in the deliberation which is distracting my mind, owing to the many conflicting arguments which occur to me on either side. Shall I start for Greece, as I had determined, with a *libera legatio*? Thereby I seem to avoid a considerable risk of impending massacre, but to be likely to expose myself to some reproach for having deserted the state at such a grave crisis. If on the other hand I remain, I perceive that I shall be in danger indeed, but I suspect that an opportunity may occur of my being able to benefit the republic. There is also a consideration of a private nature, namely, that I think it of great importance for confirming my son in his good resolutions that I should go to Athens, and I had no other motive for my journey at the time when I contemplated accepting a *libera legatio* from Cæsar. Therefore pray take under your consideration the whole question, as you always do in anything which you think touches my interests.

Now I return to your letter. You say that there are rumours that I am about to sell my property on the Lake ;² while I am going to convey my bijou villa—and that at a fancy price—to my brother Quintus, for him to bring home, as young Quintus has told you, the rich heiress Aquilia. The real truth is that I have no thoughts of selling unless I find something that pleases me better ; while Quintus has no idea of purchasing at this time. He is quite bothered

¹ Homer, *Il.* v. 428. Cicero has substituted λόγιοι, “ of speech,” for γάμοι, “ of wedlock,” at the end of the second line.

² The Lucrine lake.

enough by his obligation to repay the dowry. To marriage, moreover, he has such a distaste that he assures me that nothing can be pleasanter than a bed to oneself.¹ But enough of that. I return to the downcast or rather to the non-existent republic. Marcus Antonius has written to me about the recall of Sextus Clodius—in what a complimentary manner, as far as I am concerned, you may see from his letter, for I am sending you a copy. But you will at the same time have no difficulty in recognizing the unprincipled and improper nature of his proposal,—so mischievous in fact that it sometimes makes one wish Cæsar back again. For measures which Cæsar would never have taken or sanctioned are now produced from his forged minutes. However, I made no difficulty about it to Antony: for of course, having once made up his mind that he may do what he chooses, he would have done it all the same if I had refused. So I inclose a copy of my letter also.

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DCCXVI (A XIV, 14)

Cæsar's murder & per-
sistence of the republic

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 27 APRIL, 44

"OH tell me o'er your tale again."² Our nephew Quintus at the Parilia wearing a garland?³ Was he alone? You certainly mention Lamia also, which does utterly astonish me, but I am eager to know who the others were: although I am quite sure that there was no one that wasn't a traitor. Please therefore make this clearer. For myself, it chanced that I had just despatched a fairly long letter to you on the 26th, when about three hours later I received yours, which was also very bulky. So I needn't write to tell you that I

¹ Quintus Cicero had recently divorced Pomponia.

² This quotation, expressing horrified incredulity, is from the *Iliona* of Pacuvius (Ribbeck, 202). Cicero twice elsewhere employs it, *Acad. prior.* ii. § 88; *Tusc.* ii. § 44.

³ See DCCXXII. The Parilia were on the 21st of April.

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had a hearty laugh over your witty and amusing remarks about Vestorius's "sect" and the Puteolian custom of the Pheriones.¹

Now about things more "political."² You defend the two Brutuses and Cassius as though I were finding fault with them: whereas the fact is I cannot praise them enough. It was the weak points in the situation, not in the individuals, that I reviewed. For though the tyrant has been removed, I see that the tyranny remains. For instance, things which Cæsar never intended to do are being done: as in the case of Clodius—in regard to which I have full assurance not only that Cæsar was not likely to have done it himself, but that he would have actually forbidden it. The next will be Vestorius's old foe Rufio,² Victor whose name was never in Cæsar's minutes, and so on with the rest—who shall we not see restored? We could not endure being his slaves; we are the humble servants of his memorandum books.

As to the senate of the 17th of March³—who was strong enough to refuse to attend? Suppose that could somehow have been done: when I did attend, could I possibly speak with freedom? Wasn't it on every ground necessary, seeing that I had nothing to protect me, to speak up for the veterans who were there with arms in their hands? You can bear me witness that I never approved of that lingering on the Capitol. Well, was that the fault of the Brutuses? Not at all, but of those other dull brutes, who think themselves cautious and wise, who thought it enough in some cases to rejoice, in others to congratulate, in none to persevere. But let us leave the past: let us bestow all our care and power of protection on our heroes, and, as you

¹ Cicero (p. 22) had jocosely referred to the banker Vestorius as "no philosopher but good at accounts," and Atticus seems to have replied by a punning reference to the αἵρεσις, "sect," with perhaps an allusion to the meaning "taking," as the characteristic of a banker. We can never explain the joke as to the local habits of the "Pheriones," because we don't know who they were or what Atticus said about them. May it be a similar pun on φέρειν, "to carry off"—"convey the wise it call"? Puteoli was the mart of the corn trade from Egypt, and its merchants and bankers may have had a name for sharp practice.

² Apparently C. Sempronius Rufus, who had a controversy with Vestorius (vol. ii., p. 6).

³ See p. 17

advise, let us be content with the Ides of March. Yet though they gave our friends—those inspired heroes—an entrance to heaven, they have not given the Roman people liberty. Recall your own words. Don't you remember exclaiming that all was lost if Cæsar had a public funeral?¹ Wisely said! Accordingly, you see what has been the issue of it.

So you say that on the 1st of June Antony means to bring the allotment of provinces before the senate, and to propose taking the Gauls himself. Well, will the senate be free to pass a decree? If it is, then I shall rejoice that liberty has been recovered. If not, what will that change of masters have brought me except the joy with which I feasted my eyes on the just execution of a tyrant? You mention plundering going on at the temple of Ops.² I, too, was a witness to that at the time. Yes in truth, we have been freed by heroic champions with the result that we are not free after all! So theirs is the glory, ours the fault. And do you advise me to write history? To record the outrageous crimes of the men by whom we are still held down? Shall I be able to refrain from complimenting those very persons, who have asked you to act as their witness?³ And it isn't, by heaven, the petty gain that moves me; but it is painful to attack with invectives men who have shewn me personal goodwill, whatever their character.

However, as you say, I shall be able to determine my whole line of conduct with greater clearness by the 1st of June. I shall attend on that day and shall strive by every means and exertion in my power—with the assistance of your influence and popularity and the essential justice of the cause—to get a decree through the senate about the Buthrotians in the sense of your letter. The plan of which you bid me think I will of course think over, though I had

¹ The scene at the reading of Cæsar's will, the funeral oration of Antony, and the burning of the body in the forum—so faithfully dramatized by Shakespeare—is given most fully by Appian (*B. C.* iii. 143-148). The revulsion of feeling caused by it made Antony all-powerful for some weeks.

² Cicero elsewhere insinuates that Antony took forcible possession of 700,000 sester tia (about £5,600,000) deposited in Cæsar's lifetime in the public treasury at the temple of Ops (2 *Phil.* § 93). See *infra*, p. 41.

³ Of wills, in which legacies were left to Cicero. See p. 8.

already in my previous letter commended it to your consideration. But here are you seeking—just as though the constitution were already recovered—to give back their just rights to your neighbours of Marseilles. These rights may possibly be restored to them by arms—though I do not know how far we can rely on them—they cannot be so by anybody's influence.¹

P.S. The short letter written by you afterwards was very agreeable to me—that about Brutus's letter to Antony, and also his to you. It seems possible that things may be better than they have been hitherto. But I must take measures as to my present position and as to where to go immediately.

DCCXVII (A XIV, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

CUMÆ, 1 MAY

My admirable Dolabella ! For now I call him mine. Before this, believe me, I had my secret doubts. It is indeed a notable achievement—execution from the rock, on the cross, removal of the column, the contract given out for paying the whole spot.² In short—positively heroic ! He

¹ Massilia (as we have seen, vol. ii., p. 394) had held out against Cæsar in B.C. 49, and had been obliged to surrender after a long siege, and had given up its arms and ships. But it does not appear to have lost its position as a *libera civitas*, or if it did, it soon regained it. A figure of Massilia was carried in Cæsar's triumph (*Off.* ii. § 28 : see also 2 *Phil.* § 94 ; 8 *Phil.* § 18), and this perhaps implies a loss of *libertas* for the time. Why Cicero calls the people of Massilia "neighbours" to Atticus is not clear. One suggestion is that their ambassadors were living near him at Rome.

² In the absence of Antony (2 *Phil.* 107), who had already punished some of the rioters (see p. 9), Dolabella took stringent measures—pulled down the memorial column (1 *Phil.* § 2), crucified those of the rioters who were slaves, and hurled from the Tarpeian rock some who were free. This unconstitutional conduct on the part of both consuls was condoned by the Senate and Optimates because exercised against Cæsarian sympathisers. Dolabella, after Cæsar's murder, had at first

seems to me to have put an end to that artificial pretence of regret, which up to this time was daily growing, and which, if it became deeply rooted, I feared might prove dangerous to our tyrannicides. As it is, I entirely agree with your letter and hope for better things: though I cannot stand those people who, while pretending to desire peace, defend unprincipled proceedings: but we can't have everything at once. Things are beginning to go better than I had expected: and of course I will not leave the country till you think I may do so with honour. Brutus certainly I will always be ready to serve at any time or place, and that I should have done, even if there were no ties between us, for the sake of his unparalleled and extraordinary character. I put this whole villa and all that it contains at the service of our dear Pilia, being myself on the point of departing this 1st of May for my house at Pompeii. How I wish you could persuade Brutus to stay at Astura.

DCCXVIII (A XIV, 16)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 3 MAY

I DESPATCH this letter on the 3rd of May, when on the point of embarking on a rowing boat from the Cluvian pleasure-grounds,¹ after having handed over to Pilia my villa on the Lucrine lake, its servants, and bailiffs. I myself on that day am threatening the cheese-and-sardine dishes of my friend Pætus.² In a very few days I shall go to Pompeii, and afterwards shall return to my domains at Puteoli and Cumæ. What desirable spots in other respects, yet owing to the crowd of visitors almost to be shunned!

taken the side of the murderers and even pretended to have been privy to the plot, but seems gradually to have betrayed sentiments of the opposite description (*App. B. C.* iii. 122).

¹ Those inherited from Cluvius of Puteoli. See p. 15.

² I am going to stay with Pætus at Naples. See vol. iii., p. 92.

But to come to business. What a gallant *coup de main* of my Dolabella! What a magnificent display! For my part I never cease mingling praise and exhortation in writing to him.¹ Yes, you are quite right in the opinion you express in all your letters about the action as well as the man. In my opinion our friend Brutus might walk through the forum even with a gold crown on his head. For who would venture to assault him with the fear of the cross and the rock before their eyes? Especially as this transaction has been so loudly cheered and so heartily approved by the very mob?

Now, my dear Atticus, do make things all right for me. I want, as soon as I have done fully all that Brutus requires of me, to make an excursion into Greece. It is much to my son's interest, or rather to mine, or by heaven to that of us both, that I should drop in upon him in his studies. For in the letter of Leonides² which you forwarded to me, what is there, after all, to give us any great pleasure? I shall never think the boy's report satisfactory while it contains such a phrase as "as he is going on at present." These are not the words of confidence, but rather of anxiety. Moreover, I had charged Herodes³ to write to me in detail; but as yet I have not had a line from him. I fear he had nothing to say which he thought would be pleasant for me to know. I am much obliged to you for having written to Xeno.⁴ It concerns my duty as well as my reputation that my son should not be in any way short of means. I hear that Flaminius Flamma⁵ is at Rome. I have written to tell him that I have given you a written commission to speak to him about the business of Montanus. Please see that the letter I have sent him is delivered, and—if quite convenient to yourself—have a personal interview with him. I think, if there is a spark of shame in the man, he will see that the payment is not deferred to my loss. As

¹ As the best way of keeping him up to the mark. Cp. vol. iii., p. 59.

² The tutor of the young Marcus Cicero.

³ One of young Cicero's teachers at Athens. We have already heard of him as undertaking a history of Cicero's consulship (vol. i., p. 67).

⁴ An Epicurean philosopher at Athens (vol. ii., pp. 26, 31). Atticus seems to have employed him to transmit money to young Cicero.

⁵ C. Flaminius Flamma owed Plancus money and also it seems Cicero. See vol. iii., p. 258.

to Attica you have done me a great kindness in seeing that I knew of her recovery before I knew that she had been unwell.

DCCXIX (A XIV, 17 a AND F IX, 14)

TO P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA

POMPEII, 3 MAY

THOUGH I am quite content, my dear Dolabella, with the glory you have earned, and feel it to be a source of great exultation and pleasure, yet I cannot help confessing that it adds a finishing stroke to my joy that popular opinion associates my name with your praises. I meet a great many people every day, for large numbers of men of rank are collected in this district for their health, besides a goodly crowd of friends of mine from the country towns. Well, I have met none who did not with one consent praise you to the skies, adding in the same breath a very warm expression of thanks to me. For they say that they have no doubt that it is in obedience to my precepts and advice that you are shewing yourself to be a most eminent citizen and brilliant consul. Though I can answer such men with the most absolute truth that what you are doing you do on your own judgment and your own initiative, and do not need any man's advice, yet I neither admit outright the truth of their remark, lest I should detract from your glory by making it seem to have sprung entirely from my advice, nor do I deny it entirely either. For I am even too covetous of honour. And, after all, it is no disparagement to your dignity—as it was not to that of Agamemnon himself the “king of kings”—to have some Nestor to assist you in forming your plans. Whereas it redounds to my glory that as still a young man¹ you should have a brilliant reputation as a consul while being, so to speak, a pupil of my school.²

¹ That is, below the statutable age for the consulship. Dolabella was only about twenty-five.

² See vol. iii., p. 93, for Dolabella's study of rhetoric under Cicero.

Lucius Cæsar, for instance, when I visited him on his sick bed at Naples, though racked with pains all over his body, scarcely got the formal words of greeting out of his mouth before he exclaimed: "Oh my dear Cicero, I congratulate you on having an influence with Dolabella, such as if I had had with my sister's son,¹ we might now have been safe. Your Dolabella indeed I both congratulate and thank—for he is the only man since your consulship that I can with any truth call a consul." Then he proceeded to say a great deal about the occurrence, and how you had managed the affair, declaring that no more splendid and brilliant act had ever been done, nor one more beneficial to the state. And this was the observation of everyone.

Now, I beg of you to allow me to accept this quasi-inheritance, so to speak, of another man's glory, and to permit me to some extent to be a sharer in your reputation. However, my dear Dolabella—for this is only my joke—it would give me greater pleasure to divert the full stream of my glories, if I may be said to have any, upon you, than to draw off any part of yours. For while I have always had the warm attachment to you which you have had every opportunity of appreciating, by your recent acts I have been so inflamed that nothing can exceed the ardour of my attachment. For there is nothing, believe me, fairer, more beautiful, or more attractive than virtue. I have always, as you know, loved Marcus Brutus for his eminent ability, his very agreeable manners,² and unequalled honesty and consistency. Nevertheless, on the Ides of March my affection was so much enhanced, that I was surprised to find an addition possible in what I had looked upon as having long ago reached its height. Who could have thought that any addition was possible to my affection for you? Yet so great an addition has been made that I seem to myself never to have loved before, only to have liked. Wherefore what need to exhort you to support your position and reputation? Shall I quote to you the examples of illustrious men, as people usually do when exhorting another.

¹ L. Cæsar's sister Iulia married first Antonius Creticus, by whom she was the mother of Marcus Antonius, and secondly Lentulus, the Catilinarian conspirator (2 *Phil.* § 14).

² See, however, vol. ii., p. 137.

I have none to quote more illustrious than yourself. You must imitate yourself, vie with yourself. It is not even admissible after such great achievements for you to fail to be like yourself.¹

This being so, exhortation is superfluous. What is called for is rather congratulation. For it has been your good fortune—as I think it has never been anyone else's—to inflict the most severe punishment, not only without exciting ill feeling, but with full popular approval, and to the greatest and most universal satisfaction of aristocrat and plebeian alike. If this were merely a stroke of luck in your case I should have congratulated your good fortune; but it is in fact the result of a certain largeness of spirit, ability, and prudence. For I read your speech. It was wisdom itself. So well did you feel your way in first approaching and then avoiding the points of the case, that by universal consent the time for striking the blow seemed naturally to arise from the facts. So you have freed the city from danger and the state from terrorism, and not only done a useful service in view of the present emergency, but have set a precedent. Wherefore you ought to understand that the constitution depends on you, and that you are bound not only to protect, but to honour the men who laid the foundation of liberty. But of such matters at greater length when we meet, which I hope will be soon. For you, my dear Dolabella, since you are preserving the Republic and us, take care to guard your own life with every possible precaution.

¹ Surely party spirit never so perverted a great man as when it induced Cicero to write these words to a dissolute young scoundrel like Dolabella; and in praise of an act of wholly unconstitutional cruelty. Even the unhappy boys hanged after the Gordon riots were allowed some form of trial.

DCCXX (F XII, 1)

TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS (AT ANTIUM)

POMPEII, 3 MAY.

BELIEVE me, Cassius, I never cease thinking about you and our dear Brutus, that is, about the entire Republic, all hope for which depends on you two and Decimus Brutus. That hope indeed I now myself feel to be improved owing to the very splendid administration of my dear Dolabella. For that mischief in the city was gradually extending and becoming day by day so confirmed, that I felt uneasy both for the city and the peace in it. But that mutiny has now been put down in such a way that I think we shall be secured for all time, at any rate from that most degrading of dangers. Things still remaining to be done are both important and numerous; but they all rest with you three. However, let me expound each in its turn. Well then, as far as we have gone as yet, we seem not to have been freed from a tyranny—only from a tyrant: for though the tyrant has been killed, we obey his every nod. And not only so, but measures which he himself, had he been alive, would not have taken, we allow to pass on the plea that they were meditated by him. And to this indeed I see no limit: decrees are fastened up; immunities are granted; immense sums of money are squandered;¹ exiles are being recalled; forged decrees of the senate are being entered in the *ærarium*. Surely then nothing has been accomplished except to dispel the indignation at our slavery and the resentment against an unprincipled man: the Republic still lies involved in the confusions into which he brought it. These are all questions demanding your solution; and you must not think that the Republic has had all it can claim from you three. It has had indeed more than it ever occurred to me to desire, but it is not content yet. Its demands are great in

¹ For these accusations against Antony, see 2 *Phil.* §§ 93-98.

proportion to the greatness of your spirits and of your services. Up to the present it has avenged its injuries by the death of the tyrant through your hands: nothing more. Which of its dignities has it recovered? Is it that it now obeys the man in his grave whom it could not endure in his life-time? Do we support the rough drafts of a man, whose laws we ought to have torn down from the walls? "But"—you will say—"we so decreed in the senate."¹ Yes, we did so as a concession to the exigencies of the time, which have always been of decisive importance in politics. But they are abusing our concession without moderation or gratitude. However, of this and much else before long when we meet. Meanwhile, I would have you feel fully persuaded that, both for the sake of the Republic—always the object of my greatest devotion—and for the sake of our mutual affection, your position in the state is the object of the greatest importance in my eyes. Take great care of your health.

DCCXXI (A XIV, 17)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

POMPEII, 3 MAY

I ARRIVED at my Pompeian villa on the 3rd of May, having on the day before—as I wrote to tell you—established Pilia in my villa at Cumæ. There, as I was at dinner, the letter was put into my hands which you had delivered to your freedman Demetrius on the 30th of April. It contained much that was wise; still, as you remarked yourself, you had to allow that every plan depended entirely on fortune. Therefore on these matters we will consult on the spot and when we meet. As to the Buthrotian business, I wish to heaven I could have an interview with Antony! I am sure I should effect a great deal. But people think he won't budge from Capua, whither I fear he has gone for a

¹ At the meeting of the senate on the 17th of March, when Cæsar's *acta* were confirmed. See p. 17.

purpose very mischievous to the state.¹ Lucius Cæsar was of this opinion also, whom I saw yesterday in a very bad state of health at Naples. So I shall have to raise a debate on this subject and settle it on the 1st of June.² But enough of this. The younger Quintus has written a very unpleasant letter to his father, which was delivered to him on our arrival at Pompeii. The chief point, however, was that he would not put up with Aquilia as a stepmother. Perhaps that was excusable. But what do you think of his saying "that he had hitherto owed everything to Cæsar, nothing to his father, and for the future looked to Antony?" What an abandoned rascal! But we'll see to it.

I have written letters to our friend Brutus, to Cassius, and Dolabella. I send you copies; not that I hesitate as to whether they should be delivered—for I am clearly of opinion that they should be, and I have no doubt that you will be of the same opinion.

Pray, my dear Atticus, supply my son with as much as you think right, and allow me to impose this burden upon you. All you have done up to the present time has been exceedingly acceptable to me. My unpublished book I have not yet polished up to my satisfaction.³ The additional matter which you wish introduced must wait for a second volume of some kind. I think, however—and I would have you believe me when I say so—that it was safer to attack that abominable party while the tyrant was alive than now that he is dead. For in a manner he was surprisingly tolerant of me. Now, whichever way we turn, we are confronted not merely by Cæsar's enactments, but also by those

¹ This is explained by 2 *Phil.* §§ 101-102. Capua, which since the second Punic war had been deprived of all status, had been raised to the rank of a *colonia* by Cæsar in B.C. 59. Antony wanted to refound it, or at any rate to introduce a *supplementum* or new body of *coloni*, which was resisted by the existing *coloni*, who were mostly veteran soldiers. He appears eventually to have made his colony at Casilinum on the other side of the river. This involved more loss of revenue from the *ager Campanus*.

² That is, at the meeting of the senate always held on the first day of the month.

³ We cannot be sure what book is meant. It is supposed by some to be the poem *de Suis Temporibus*, which was not published till after his death.

which he merely contemplated. Since Flamma has arrived, please see about Montanus.¹ I think the business should be on a better footing.

DCCXXII (A XIV, 19)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

POMPEII, 8 MAY

BEING in my Pompeian villa on the 7th of May I received two letters from you, the first dated five days ago, the second three. I will therefore answer the earlier one first. How glad I am that Barnæus delivered my letter at the nick of time! Yes, with Cassius as before. It is, however, a lucky coincidence that I had just done what you advise me to do. Five days ago I wrote to him and sent you a copy of my letter. But after I had been thrown into a great state of despair by Dolabella's avarice²—to use your expression—lo and behold, arrives a letter from Brutus and one from you. He is meditating exile: I, however, see before me a different port, and one better suited to my time of life.³ Though, of course, I should prefer entering it with Brutus in prosperity and the constitution on a sound footing. As it is indeed, you are right in saying that we have now no choice in the matter. For you agree with me that my age is unsuitable to a camp, especially in a civil war. Marcus Antonius merely said about Clodius, in answer to my letter, that my leniency and placability had been very gratifying to him, and would be a source of great pleasure to myself.

¹ See p. 32.

² No doubt—if the reading is sound—he refers to Dolabella still retaining Tullia's dowry in part.

³ That is, "death" (cp. *de Sen.* § 91). He had just written the essay on Old Age. There he makes Cato say that at his age death is so pleasant that "as I approach it more, I seem to be catching sight of land and to be at length coming into port after a long voyage." We often find the sentiment occurring in his letters which he was at the time expressing in books.

But Pansa seems to be fuming about Clodius as well as about Deiotarus. His words are stern enough, if you choose to believe them. Nevertheless, he is not sound—as I think—on the subject of Dolabella's achievement,¹ of which he loudly expresses his disapproval. As to the men with the garlands,² when your sister's son was reproved by his father, he wrote back to say that he had worn a garland in honour of Cæsar, that he had laid it aside as a sign of mourning; lastly, that he was quite content to be vilified for loving Cæsar even when dead. To Dolabella I have written cordially, as you said that you thought I ought to do. I have also done so to Sicca. I don't lay the responsibility of this upon you: I don't want you to incur his wrath. I recognize Servius's style of talk, in which I see more of timidity than wisdom. But since we have all been frightened out of our wits, I have nothing to say against Servius. Publilius has taken you in. For Cærellia was sent here by them as their envoy; but I convinced her without difficulty that what she asked was not even legal, to say nothing of my disliking it.³ If I see Antony I will seriously press the case of Buthrotum.

I come now to your later letter, though I have already answered you in regard to Servius. You say that I am "making a good deal of Dolabella's achievement." Well, by heaven, it is my genuine opinion that it could not be surpassed in the circumstances and actual state of affairs. But after all, whatever credit I give him is founded on what you wrote. However, I agree with you that it would be a still greater "achievement" on his part, if he paid me what he owes me.⁴ I should like Brutus to stay at Astura. You praise me for coming to no decision about leaving Italy till I see how affairs at Rome are likely to turn out. But I have changed my mind about that. I shall not, however, do anything till I have seen you. I am pleased that our dear Attica thanks me for what I have done for her mother. I have in fact put the whole villa and store-

¹ In executing the rioters collecting round the pillar marking the spot in the forum where his body was burnt. See pp. 33-35.

² At the *Palilia*. See Letter DCCXVI.

³ Re-marriage with the divorced Publilia.

⁴ The instalment of Tullia's dowry which he had to repay.

room at her service, and am thinking of going to see her on the 11th. Please give my love to Attica. I will take good care of Pilia

DCCXXIII (A XIV, 18)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

POMPEII, 9 MAY

You are always going on at me for what you consider my extravagance in praising Dolabella's achievement to the skies. Now, though I do highly approve of what he did, I was after all led to speak of it in such high terms by first one and then another letter from you. But Dolabella has entirely lost your favour for the same reason which has made me very bitter with him too. A brazen-faced fellow indeed! He should have paid on the 1st of January: he has not paid yet, and that though he has freed himself from a vast load of debt by the handwriting of Faberius, and has sought an "opening" in the temple of Ops.¹ For a pun is permissible, lest you should think me very much upset. And, in fact, I wrote to him very early in the morning of the 8th. On the same day I received a letter from you at Pompeii—which had travelled very quickly, for it reached me on the third day. But, as I wrote you word on that very day, I sent Dolabella a fairly stinging letter. Even if that does no good, I think he will at any rate be unable to face me when we meet.

I think you have settled the business of Albius. As to the debt from Patulcius, your having come to my aid is most

¹ Faberius was Cæsar's secretary. Cicero here accuses Dolabella of sharing in the fraudulent proceedings which he afterwards attributed to Antony (2 *Phil.* §§ 93, 97)—making money by using pretended minutes of Cæsar, and diverting to his private use the five millions sterling left in the public treasury at the temple of Ops by Cæsar. In 2 *Phil.* § 107, he attributes Dolabella's deterioration to Antony's influence. See Letter DCCXVI.

kind, and exactly like everything you are always doing. But I seem to have deserted Eros, who is the very man to settle that business, for it was owing to his serious mistake that they went wrong in their accounts. But I will see to that when I meet him. As to Montanus, as I have often mentioned to you before, you will please see to the whole business. I am not at all surprised that Servius spoke to you in a tone of despair as he was leaving town, and I am not a whit behind him in his despairing view of the situation. What our friend Brutus, that unequalled hero, is going to do in the forum, if he does not intend to come to the senate on the 1st of June, I cannot imagine. But he will settle that himself better than I can. Judging from the measures I see in course of preparation, I conclude that little good was done by the Ides of March. Accordingly, I think of going to Greece more and more every day. For I don't see what good I can do my friend Brutus, who—as he writes me word—is contemplating exile for himself. The letter of Leonides did not give me much pleasure. About Herodes I agree with you. I could wish I had read that of Saufeius. I am thinking of leaving Pompeii on the 10th of May.

DCCXXIV (A XIV, 20)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 11 MAY

FROM Pompeii I came by boat to the hospitable house of my friend Lucullus on the 10th, about nine o'clock in the morning. On disembarking I received your letter which your letter-carrier is said to have taken to my house at Cumæ, dated the 7th of May. Next day, leaving Lucullus, I arrived at my house at Puteoli about the same hour. There I found two letters from you, one dated the 7th, the other the 9th. So now take my answer to all three.

First, thank you for what you have done on my behalf both as to the payment and the business with Albius. Next,

as to your Buthrotum. When I was at my Pompeian villa, Antony came to Misenum: but left it for Samnium before I heard of his arrival. You must not build too much hope on him. Accordingly, I shall have to see to Buthrotum at Rome. L. Antonius's¹ speech—shocking! Dolabella's—famous! By all means let him keep his money, so long as he pays on the Ides. I am sorry for dear Tertia's² miscarriage: we want as many Cassii produced as Bruti. I wish it may be true about the Queen and that Cæsar of hers.³

I have answered your first letter: I now come to your second. I will see to the Quinti and Buthrotum when I come, as you say. Thank you for supplying my son. You think me mistaken in my idea that the constitution depends on Brutus. The truth is that it will all go or will be saved by him and his friends. You urge me to send you a written copy of a speech to the people. Well, here, my dear Atticus, you may take it from me as a general maxim applicable to the affairs in which we have had a fairly wide experience—*no one, whether poet or orator, ever yet thought anyone else better than himself*. This is the case even with bad ones. What can you expect of the brilliant and accomplished Brutus. I had actual experience of him recently in the matter of the edict.⁴ I drafted one on your request. I liked mine, he his. Nay, more, when in answer to what I may almost call his entreaties I had dedicated my book "On the best Style of Oratory" to him, he wrote not only to me, but to you also,

¹ Brother of Marcus Antonius. He was tribune this year, and had been speaking about a distribution of land.

² Tertia, half-sister of Brutus, and wife of Cassius. She was daughter of Servilia by D. Iunius Silanus. Another sister was married to Lepidus.

³ Some report of harm having happened to Cleopatra. The son called Cæsarion (Suet. *Aug.* 17) was believed to be Cæsar's, though Cæsar himself is said to have denied it, and his friend C. Oppius published a pamphlet to disprove it. Suetonius (*Iul.* 52) says that Cæsar granted Cleopatra permission to call the boy after him as a favour. And Plutarch (*Cæs.* 49) attributes the assertion to the common talk of Alexandria. Antony always maintained it however, even in his will (Dio 49, 4; 50, 3).

⁴ Atticus had suggested Cicero sending a draft of a *contio* for Brutus to deliver. Cicero replies that Brutus would prefer to compose his own, as he did in the case of an edict, of which Cicero had supplied a sketch. See Letter DCCXXXVII, p. 64.

to say that he did not agree with my choice of style. Wherefore, pray, let each man write for himself :

“ Each man has the best of wives :
So have I.
That you have a sweeter love,
I deny.”

It is not well put, for it is by Atilius,¹ the most wooden of poets. And I only hope he may be allowed to deliver a speech at all ! If he can but shew himself in the city with safety, it will be a triumph for us. For if he sets up as a leader in a new civil war, no one will follow him, or only such as can be easily beaten.

Now for your third letter. I am glad that Brutus and Cassius liked my letter. Accordingly, I have written back to them. They want Hirtius made a better citizen by my influence. Well, I am doing my best, and his language is very satisfactory, but he passes his time and almost shares houses with Balbus, who also uses loyalist language. What to believe of that I must leave you to determine. I see that you are much pleased with Dolabella ; I am eminently so. I saw a good deal of Pansa at Pompeii. He quite convinced me of the soundness of his views and his desire for peace. I can see plainly that a pretext for war is being sought. I quite approve of the edict of Brutus and Cassius. You wish me to turn over in my mind what course I think they ought to take. We must adapt our plans to circumstances, which you see change every hour. Dolabella seems to me to have done a great deal of good both by that first move of his and by this speech against Antonius. Certainly there is progress. Now, too, we seem likely to have a leader ; which is the one thing the country towns and loyal citizens want. Do you allude to Epicurus and venture to quote : “ Engage not in politics ” ? Does not the frown of our Brutus warn you off from such talk ? The younger Quintus, as you say, is Antony's right hand. By his means, therefore, we shall get what we want. I am anxious to hear, in case Lucius An-

¹ A translator of tragedies and comedies. See *de Fin.* i. § 2, where Cicero, speaking of his translation of the *Electra* of Sophocles, calls him a *ferreus poeta*, “stiff.”

tonius has introduced Octavius to a public meeting, as you think he will, what kind of speech he has made. I can add no more, for Cassius's letter-carrier is just about to start. I am going directly to call on Pilia; thence to dinner with Vestorius¹ by boat. Best love to Attica.

DCCXXV (A XIV, 21)

TO ATTICUS (AT LANUVIUM)

PUTEOLI (AT THE TABLE OF VESTORIUS), 11 MAY

ONLY a little while ago I had sent you a letter by Cassius's letter-carrier, when my own letter-carrier arrived on the 11th, and, marvellous to say, without a letter from you. But I soon concluded that you had been at Lanuvium. Eros, however, made great haste to have Dolabella's letter delivered to me. It was not about my money—for he had not received my letter: but he wrote in answer to the letter of which I sent you a copy. It was very well expressed. Balbus, however, came to see me immediately after I had despatched Cassius's letter-carrier. Good heavens! how plainly he shewed his dread of peace! You know, too, what a reserved fellow he is, yet he told me Antony's plans. That he was making the round of the veterans, to induce them to confirm Cæsar's *acta*, and to take an oath that they would do so; to secure that they all had arms; and that two commissioners should inspect them every month.² He also grumbled about the prejudice existing against himself, and his whole conversation indicated an affection for Antony. In a word, there is nothing sound about him. For my part, I feel certain that things have a warlike look. For that deed was done with the courage of men, but the imprudence of a child. For who

¹ The banker at Puteoli.

² The text of this clause is doubtful, *arma* being a conjecture for *utram* of the MSS. Mueller reads *castra*. The *duumviri* also may mean the two chief magistrates of the *colonia*. For Antony's tour through the colonies of the veterans, see 2 *Phil.* § 100

can fail to see that an heir to the tyranny has been left?¹ Now what can be more irrational than

“To fear the one, nor dread at all the other”?

Nay, at this very moment there are many circumstances of a paradoxical character. What about the mother of the tyrannicide retaining the Neapolitan villa of Pontius?² I must read over again and again my *Cato Maior*, which is dedicated to you. For old age is spoiling my temper. Everything puts me in a rage. But for me life is over. The rising generation must look to it. Take care of my affairs, as you always do.

I write, or rather dictate this, after the dessert has been put on the table at the house of Vestorius. To-morrow I am thinking of dining with Hirtius—the sole survivor indeed of our set of five.³ That is my way of bringing him over to the Optimates. It is all nonsense: for there is not one of that party who does not dread a period of peace. Wherefore let us look out our winged-sandals! For I prefer anything to a camp. Pray give my best love to Attica. I am anxious to hear of Octavius's speech and anything else, but specially whether Dolabella has the true money chink, or has gone in for “repudiation” in regard to my debt also.⁴

¹ Cicero often says that Antony ought to have been killed at the same time as Cæsar (2 *Phil.* § 34). See pp. 48, 69, etc.

² Servilia, the mother of Brutus, had an estate at Naples given her by Cæsar.

³ πεντέλοιπον. The reading, however, is not certain. Tyrrell and Purser reckon the set or coterie at Puteoli as including Hirtius, Pansa, Octavius, Lentulus Spinther, and Philippus. But the political views referred to in the next sentence do not apply to Philippus. See p. 20.

⁴ As he did in his tribuneship of B.C. 47 (see vol. iii., pp. 27, 33). *Tinniat* has a double meaning: (1) ringing true, like a vessel when tapped, and so being “honest” (cp. Persius, iii. 20); (2) “to chink” like money when handled, and so to be ready to pay.

DCCXXVI (A XIV, 22)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 14 MAY

HAVING been informed by Pilia that letter-carriers were starting for you on the 15th, I scrawl these few lines. First then I want you to know that I am leaving this place for Arpinum on the 17th of May. So please direct there if there is anything to write after this: though I shall be with you almost immediately myself. For I am anxious that before I arrive at Rome very careful inquiry should be made as to what is going to happen. However, I fear that my presentiments are not wide of the mark. It is in truth quite plain what these fellows are at. For my pupil,¹ who dines with me to-day, is much devoted to the victim of our Brutus's dagger: and if you ask my opinion, I see very plainly their attitude—they dread peace. Moreover, their constant theme is that "a man of the most illustrious character has been killed: that by his death the constitution has been thoroughly shaken: that his *acta* will be rendered nugatory as soon as we cease to be frightened: that his clemency did him harm; and that if he had not shewn it, nothing of the sort would have befallen him." It strikes me, therefore, that if Pompeius arrives with a strong army—as is reasonable to expect—there will certainly be war. This idea haunts my imagination and terrifies me. For we shall not now be able to do what you did on the former occasion. For I made no secret of my triumphant joy. In the next place, they talk of our ingratitude. It certainly will be impossible for me on any grounds to take up the position which was then possible for you and many others.² Must I then put a good face on it and go to the camp? A thousand times better die, especially at my time of life. Accordingly,

¹ Hirtius. See vol. iii., p. 93.

² That is, remain neutral. Cicero has committed himself by approving the assassination.

the Ides of March do not console me so much as they did: for they involve a serious blunder, unless our young heroes

“By other noble deeds wipe out this shame.”¹

But if you have any brighter hope as being more in the way of hearing news and being cognizant of their plans, pray write me word and at the same time turn over in your mind what I ought to do about taking a “votive legation.”² The fact is that in these parts many warn me against appearing in the senate on the 1st of June. Troops³ are said to be secretly collecting for that day, and that too against the men who seem to me likely to be safer anywhere than in the senate.

DCCXXVII (A XV, I a)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 17 MAY

How sad about Alexio!⁴ you would scarcely believe the extent to which it has afflicted me; and, by heaven! not from the point of view suggested by most people to me—“Where will you go for a physician now?” For what need have I of a physician? Or if I do need one, is there such a dearth of them? It is his affection for me, his culture, his gracious manners that I miss. Then there is this consideration—what is there that we may not fear when a man of such temperate habits, of such eminence as a physician, is carried off by such a sudden illness? But to all such thoughts the only consolation is that the conditions of our birth forbid us to shrink from anything to which flesh is heir.

¹ ἄλλοις ἐν ἐσθλοῖς τόνδ' ἀπωθοῦνται ψόγον, a verse said to be from Sophocles, though from what play is unknown. The mistake at which Cicero hints is, as before (p. 46), that Antony was not assassinated with Cæsar.

² See p. 70, and vol. i., p. 110.

³ For Antony's enrolment and gradual increase of 6,000 bodyguards, see p. 90.

⁴ A physician. See p. 53.

As to Antony, I have already told you that I did not meet him. For he came to Misenum while I was at my Pompeian house, and left it before I knew of his arrival. But, as it happened, Hirtius was with me at Puteoli when I was reading your letter. I read it out to him and stated the case.¹ As at first advised he would make no concession. At last, however, he said that I should be judge, not only in this matter but of the whole of his administration as consul. With Antony again I will put the case in such a way as to make him perceive that, if he does what we want in that business, I shall be wholly his in the future. I hope Dolabella is in town. Let us return to our heroes, of whom you shew that you have good hopes owing to the moderate tone of their edicts. Now, when Hirtius left my house at Puteoli on the 16th of May for Naples, to visit Pansa, I had a clear view of his whole mind. For I took him aside and exhorted him earnestly to preserve the peace. He could not of course say that he did not wish for peace: but he indicated that he was no less afraid of our side appealing to arms than of Antony doing so: and that after all both sides had reason to be on their guard, but that he feared the arms of both. I needn't go on: there is nothing sound about him. As to the younger Quintus, I agree with you: at any rate your charming letter to him gave the greatest pleasure to his father. Cærellia, indeed, I had no difficulty in convincing. She did not seem to me to be very anxious for it, and if she had been, I certainly should not have done so.² As to the lady whom you say has been troublesome to you, I am quite surprised that you listened to her at all. For because I spoke in complimentary terms of her in the presence of friends and in the hearing of her three sons, and your daughter, does the rest follow?³ What is the point of—

“Why should I pace the streets with features masked?”

Isn't the mask of old age itself ugly enough?

¹ As to the confiscation of lands at Buthrotum. Hirtius was consul-designate for B.C. 43.

² See p. 40. It seems to refer to some attempt at effecting a reconciliation between Cicero and Publilia.

³ That is, “does it follow that I wish to marry her?” Or if it refers to Publilia's mother, “does it follow that I wish to take her daughter back?”

You say that Brutus asks me to come to Rome before the 1st. He has written to me to the same effect, and perhaps I will do so. But I don't at all know why he wishes it. For what advice can I offer him, when I am at a loss what plan to adopt myself, and when he has done more for his own undying fame than for our peace? About the Queen the gossip will die out.¹ As to Flamma,² pray do what you can.

DCCXXVIII (A XV, 1 b)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 18 MAY

I WROTE to you yesterday as I was leaving Puteoli, and I then paid a visit to my villa at Cumæ. There I saw Pilia looking quite well.³ Nay, more, I saw her afterwards in the town of Cumæ: for she had come to a funeral which I also attended. Our friend Gnæus Lucullus was burying his mother. I stayed therefore that day in the lodge at Sinuessa, and when on the point of starting early the next day for Arpinum I dash off this letter. However, I have nothing new to tell you or to ask you; unless by chance you think the following is to the point. Our friend Brutus has sent me his speech delivered at the public meeting on the Capitol, and has asked me to correct it before publication without any regard to his feelings. It is, I may add, a speech of the utmost finish as far as the sentiments are concerned, and in point of language not to be surpassed. Nevertheless, if I had had to handle that cause, I should have written with more fire. But the theme and the character of the writer being as you see, I was unable to correct it. For, granting the kind of orator that our Brutus aims at being, and the opinion he entertains of the best style of speech, he has

¹ See p. 43.

² See p. 32.

³ Cicero had lent his villa at Puteoli to Pilia, the wife of Atticus. See p. 41.

secured an unqualified success. Nothing could be more finished. But I have always aimed, rightly or wrongly, at something different. However, read the speech yourself, unless indeed you have read it already, and tell me what you think of it. However, I fear that, misled by your surname, you will be somewhat hyper-Attic in your criticism. But if you will only recall Demosthenes's thunder, you will understand that the most vigorous denunciation is consistent with the purest Attic style. But of this when we meet. For the present my only wish is that Metrodorus should not go to you without a letter, nor with one that had nothing in it.

DCCXXIX (A XV, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

VESCIA, 18 MAY

AFTER despatching a letter to you on the 18th of May as I was starting from the lodge at Sinuessa, I stopped at the villa at Vescia. There a letter-carrier delivered me a letter from you in which you say more than enough about Buthrotum; for that business is not a source of more anxiety to you than to me. It is but right that you should care for my business, I for yours. Wherefore I have taken up that matter with the determination to regard it as of the first importance.

I know from your letter and others that Lucius Antonius had delivered a miserably poor speech, but I don't know its purport: for you say nothing in your letter. About Menedemus—that's a good thing!¹ Yes, Quintus certainly habitually says what you mention in your letter. I am relieved to find that you approve of my resolution of not writing the sort of thing which you once demanded of me,

¹ That he has been executed by Trebonius in Asia. The report turned out to be false, or at any rate premature (see p. 57; 13 *Phil.* § 33). Menedemus a Greek claiming to have been enfranchised by Cæsar.

and you will approve all the more when you read the speech of which I have written to you to-day.¹ What you say of the legions is true. But you do not appear to me to have sufficiently convinced yourself of it, when you retain a hope that the business of our friends at Buthrotum can be settled by the senate.² In my opinion—for I can see as far as that—I don't think we are likely to prevail. But supposing me to be mistaken in that view, you will not be disappointed about Buthrotum. As to Octavius's speech my opinion agrees with yours: and I don't like his grand set-out for the games, nor Matius and Postumius acting as his agents for them.³ Saserna is a worthy colleague.⁴ But all those fellows, as you perceive, are as much afraid of peace as we are of war. I should like to be the means of relieving Balbus of the popular prejudice against him, but he does not even himself feel any confidence of that being possible. So he is thinking of other measures.

I am rejoiced that you find the first book of my Tusculan Disputations arm you against the fear of death: there is, in fact, no other refuge either better or more available.⁵ I am not sorry that Flamma uses language that is satisfactory. What the case of the people of Tyndaris⁶ is, about which he is anxious, I do not know: yet they are men whom I shall be glad to assist. The circumstances you mention appear to agitate our "last of five,"⁷ especially the withdrawal of pub-

¹ That of Brutus, discussed in the morning's letter.

² Atticus had mentioned the fact of Antony's summoning the legions from Macedonia, left there by Cæsar. If that were true, Antony evidently meant to carry his views by force of arms, and the senate would have little say in this or any other matter.

³ The games which Iulius Cæsar had intended to be held on the 21st April (the *Palilia*) in celebration of his victories in Spain had been postponed, and were now about to be given by Octavius (Augustus). They had been intended to accompany the dedication of the completed temple of Venus Victrix begun after Pharsalia (App. *B. C.* ii. 102; Dio, 43, 2; 45, 6-7). Matius Calvinus and Postumius were two warm friends of the late dictator (see vol. ii., p. 350; vol. iii., p. 127; Suet. *Aug.* 10). At these games the comet was seen which some believed to be the soul of the dictator on its way to heaven (Suet. *Iul.* 88; Pliny, *N. H.* ii. § 93).

⁴ We know nothing of Saserna, except that Cicero speaks contemptuously of him as one of Antony's set in 13 *Phil.* § 28.

⁵ The subject of the first book of the *Tusculans* is "Is death an evil?"

⁶ A city in Sicily.

⁷ Hirtius. See p. 46.

lic money.¹ I am sorry about Alexio: but since he had fallen into so painful a disease, I think he must be esteemed fortunate. Yet I should like to know whom he appointed heirs in the second reversion and the day for acceptance named in the will.

DCCXXX (A XV, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 22 MAY

ON the 22nd I received two letters from you at Arpinum, in which you answered two of mine. One was dated the 18th, the other the 21st. First, then, to the earlier of the two. Yes, do make an excursion to Tusculum, as you say, where I think I shall arrive on the 27th. You say we must yield to the victors. Not I indeed. There are many things I prefer to that. For as to the proceedings in the temple of Apollo in the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus² which you recall—neither the merits of the case nor the circumstances are the same, especially as you say that Marcellus and others are leaving town. So when we meet we must scent out the truth and make up our minds whether it is possible for us to stay at Rome with safety. The inhabitants of the new community cause me anxiety.³ For I am in a very embarrassing position. But all that is of small importance: I am treating more serious things than that with disdain.

I know all about Calva's will, a mean shabby fellow! Thank you for attending to the auction of Demonicus.

¹ The money in the temple of Ops, which Antony was appropriating, as well as Dolabella. See pp. 41, etc.

² B.C. 49. The senate summoned all good citizens to come to town. Antony wished Cicero and others to come to the senate, and Atticus had quoted the precedent of B.C. 49.

³ Antony had made a *colonia* at Casilinum (see p. 38), which Cicero won't recognize as a *colonia*, and calls a *conventus* (2 *Phil.* § 102). Cicero does not wish to recognize them, and yet fears to irritate these veterans.

About (Manlius)¹ I wrote some time ago to Dolabella with the most minute care, if only my letter reached him. I am very anxious for his success and I am in duty bound to be so.

Now for the later of your two letters. I know all I want to know about Alexio. Hirtius is altogether devoted to you. I wish things were going worse with Antony than they are. About the younger Quintus, as you say, *assez*! About his father I will discuss when we meet. Brutus I wish to assist in every way within my power. About his little speech—I see you think the same as I do. But I don't understand why you would have me compose one as though delivered by Brutus, when he has already published his own. How would that do, pray? Should my theme be—a tyrant most righteously put to death? I shall have to say much, and write much, but in a different manner, and at another time. About Cæsar's chair, well done the tribunes!² Well done, too, the fourteen rows of knights! I am very glad Brutus has been staying at my house:³ I only hope he was comfortable and stayed a good long time.

DCCXXXI (A XV, 4, §§ 1-4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 24 MAY

ON the 24th of May about four o'clock in the afternoon a letter-carrier arrived from Q. Fufius.⁴ He brought me some

¹ Calva and Demonicus are unknown. For Manlius the MSS. have *malo*. Some name must be supplied, and I have introduced the nearest. It may possibly refer to Aulus Manlius Torquatus, who, though allowed to return from exile, still had some claims for restitution unsatisfied, for which Cicero looked to Dolabella's aid. See vol. iii., p. 280.

² In his games Octavian wished the gilded chair and jewelled crown which had been voted to Iulius to be brought into the circus or theatre, but was prevented by the tribunes, L. Antonius among others (Dio, 45, 4). We must suppose that the equites applauded the tribunes.

³ That is, at Astura. See p. 40.

⁴ Q. Fufius Calenus, an old opponent (vol. i., p. 35).

sort of a note from him expressing a wish that I would restore my favour to him. It was very awkwardly expressed, as is his way: unless perchance the truth is that everything one doesn't like has the appearance of being awkwardly done. My answer was one which I think you will approve.

I will reply to your later and fuller letter first. Good! Why, if even Carfulenus does so—*le déluge!*¹ Antony's policy—as you describe it—is revolutionary, and I hope he will carry it out by popular vote rather than by decree of the senate! I think he will do so. But to my mind his whole policy seems to point to war, since the province² is being wrested from Decimus Brutus. Whatever my estimate of the latter's resources, I do not think that this can be done without war. But I don't desire it, for the Buthrotians are being sufficiently secured as it is!³ Do you laugh? In good truth I am vexed that they do not rather owe it to my persistence, activity, and influence.

You say you don't know what our men are to do. Well, that difficulty has been troubling me all along. Accordingly, I was a fool, I now see, to be consoled by the Ides of March. The fact is, we shewed the courage of men, the prudence of children. The tree was felled, but not cut up by the roots. Accordingly, you see how it is sprouting up. Let us go back, then, to the Tusculan Arguments⁴—since

¹ ἄνω ποταμῶν. Cicero, as usual, only gives a word or two of a well-known passage to indicate it to Atticus. It is from the famous choric song in the *Medea* of Euripides (409) representing the reversal of all moral laws and notions:

ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί,
καὶ δίκαια πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται.

“Back to their founts the rivers roll
Their sacred streams: and in the soul
Confusions worse confounded reign,
Nor justice can her laws maintain.”

Carfulenus, an officer in the *Martia*, had with it deserted from Antony.

² That is, Gallia Cisalpina—which Antony was trying to get the senate to transfer to him. He eventually got it by a *lex*.

³ He suggests ironically that his only motive for wishing active measures to be taken against Antony was to secure the Buthrotians from the threatened colony.

⁴ The Tusculan Disputations (1st Book) on death, and the reasons for not fearing it.

you often quote them. Let us keep Saufeius in the dark about you. I will never blab.¹ You send me a message from Brutus asking on what day I am to arrive at Tusculum. On the 27th of May, as I wrote you word before. And then, in fact, I should like very much to see you as soon as possible. For I think I shall have to go to Lanuvium,² and shan't get off without a great deal of talk. But I will see to it.

I now come back to your earlier letter. I will pass over the first clause about the Buthrotians, for

“That in my heart of hearts is fixed.”

I only hope, as you say, we may have some opportunity of acting in the matter. You must be very keen about Brutus's speech, considering the length at which you discuss it again. Would you have me treat the subject after he has actually produced a written oration on it? Am I to write without being asked by him? That would be putting one's oar in with a vengeance! Nothing could be ruder. But something, say you, in the style of Heracleides.³ Well, I don't decline that much: but it is necessary first to settle on a line of argument, and secondly to wait for a more suitable time for writing. For think what you will of me (though of course I should like you to think as well as possible), if things go on as they seem to be doing—you will not be vexed at my saying it—I feel no pleasure in the Ides of March. For Cæsar would never have come back:⁴ fear would not have forced us to confirm his acts. Or supposing me to join Saufeius's school and abandon the doctrines of the Tusculans, I was so high in his favour (whom may the gods confound though dead!) that to a man of my age he

¹ That is, I won't tell Saufeius the Epicurean of your lapse from Epicureanism involved in adopting the doctrines of the Tusculan Disputations.

² Where Brutus was. See p. 45.

³ Heracleides of Pontus, a pupil of Plato, who wrote on constitutions. See vol. i., p. 328.

⁴ Boot thinks that this means, “Cæsar would not have come to life again in the person of Antony.” But I agree with Tyrrell and Purser in understanding it to mean, “would never have come back from the Parthian war.” Cæsar's health and spirits were perhaps failing. See *pro Marc.* §§ 25, 32.

was not a master to be shunned, since the slaying of the master has not made us free men. I blush—believe me. But I have written the words, and will not erase them. I only wish it had been true about Menedemus.¹ About the Queen I hope it may turn out to be true.² The rest when we meet, and especially as to what our heroes are to do, and even what I am to do myself if Antony means to blockade the senate with soldiers. If I had given this letter to his letter-carrier I feared he would open it. So I send it with special care : for I was obliged to answer yours.

DCCXXXII (A XV, 4 b)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 24 MAY

How I wish that you could have accomplished your purpose for Brutus ! I am accordingly writing to him. I am sending Tiro to Dolabella with a letter and a message. Send for him to see you and write if you have anything you wish to say. But lo and behold a request from L. Cæsar is suddenly sprung on me to go to Nemus³ to see him, or to write and tell him when I should wish him to come ; because Brutus thinks he ought to have an interview with me. What a disagreeable and puzzling business ! I think therefore that I shall go, and thence to Rome, unless I change my plans. At present I only write briefly to you, for I have not yet heard anything from Balbus. I am anxious therefore for a letter from you, and not telling me only of what has been done, but also what is going to happen.

¹ See p. 51.

² Some rumour to the disadvantage of Cleopatra. See p. 43.

³ The *Nemus Dianæ*, mod. Aricia, near the *lago de Nemi* (see vol. ii., p. 245). L. Cæsar was Antony's uncle (2 *Phil.* § 14). He was consul B.C. 64.

DCCXXXIII (F XII, 16)

GAIUS TREBONIUS TO CICERO

ATHENS, 25 MAY

IF you are well, I am glad. I arrived at Athens on the 22nd of May, and there, as I was very anxious to do, I saw your son devoting himself to the best kinds of learning, and enjoying an excellent reputation for steadiness. How much pleasure that gave me you can imagine without a word from me: for you are not ignorant of my high esteem for you, and how much our very old friendship and very sincere affection make me rejoice in everything good that happens to you, however small, to say nothing of such a great blessing as this. Do not imagine, my dear Cicero, that I send you this report merely to please you. Nothing could be more popular with everybody at Athens than your young man—indeed I should call him *ours*, for I can have no interest disconnected with yourself. Nor could there be greater devotion than his to the studies which you love above everything, that is, to the most excellent. Accordingly, as I can do with sincerity, I am delighted to congratulate you—and myself quite as much—that we have in him, whom we should be obliged to love in any case, whatever his conduct, one whom we can love with pleasure as well. In the course of conversation he remarked to me that he would like to visit Asia, and was not only invited but pressed by me to do so if possible while I was governing the province. You ought to have no doubt that in affection and love I shall be a father to him in your place. Another thing I shall take care of is that Cratippus accompanies him, that you may not imagine him in Asia as taking a complete holiday from the studies to which he is inspired by your admonitions. For though I see that he is fully prepared, and has already taken a great stride in that direction, I will not omit my exhortations, to induce him to make farther progress every day by learning and keeping himself in practice.

What you at home are doing in politics I am at the moment of despatching this quite ignorant. I hear rumours of certain revolutionary proceedings: but I hope they are false, that we may at length have the enjoyment of liberty and peace—two things that up to now have really never fallen to my lot. However, as I got a brief time of repose during my voyage, I have composed a trifle to send you, as I had designed to do. I have included in it a *bon mot* of yours which implied a high compliment to myself, and have added a footnote ascribing it to you. In these poor verses, if I seem to you in certain passages to be *un peu libre*, the abominable character of the man against whom I am too freely inveighing will plead my excuse. You will also pardon my passion, which is no more than is right against people of that kind, both as men and as citizens. Again, why should Lucilius have been allowed to claim this amount of liberty any more than ourselves? ¹ For even if his wrath against the objects of his attack was as keen as ours, those objects themselves were certainly not more deserving of being attacked with all that freedom of speech. In return I claim your promise of being introduced in one of your dialogues at the earliest opportunity. For I feel certain that, if you write anything about Cæsar's death, you will not allow me to sustain the least distinguished part either in actual deed ² or in the expression of your affection. Good-bye. I commend my mother and family to your care.

Athens, 25 May.

¹ The great freedom with which Lucilius (B.C. 148-103) attacked living people is noticed by Juvenal (i. 165) and Persius (i. 114). The epigrams or satire of Trebonius appear to have been directed against Antony, who afterwards expressed satisfaction at the death which before many months were over he met with at the hands of Dolabella (13 *Phil.* § 22).

² Trebonius did not actually strike a blow in the assassination, but was employed in keeping Antony at a distance under pretence of making him some communication.

DCCXXXIV (A XV, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 27 MAY

My letter-carrier has come back from Brutus, and has brought me a letter both from him and from Cassius. They are very earnest to have my advice—Brutus, indeed, wants to know which of the two courses I recommend. What a miserable state of things! I am quite uncertain what to say to them. So I think I shall try silence, unless you think I had better not. But if anything occurs to you, pray write and tell me. Cassius, however, begs and entreats me earnestly to bring Hirtius over to the right side as much as possible. Do you think he is in his right senses?

“Ashes and dust
Is all our trust.”¹

I inclose his letter. Balbus also writes to the same effect as you do as to the province of Brutus and Cassius to be assigned by decree of the senate. And Hirtius, too, says that he shall absent himself.² For he is now in his Tusculan villa, and is earnestly advising me to keep away. He does so because of

¹ The MSS. have the apparently unmeaning words ὅτε ναῦς ἀνθρακες. I venture to propose a proverb which makes sense, and which is no violent change in the MSS., considering the hopeless confusion with which they generally present Greek words. It is ὁ θησαυρὸς ἀνθρακες, “the treasure turns out to be dust and ashes,” a proverb for disappointed hopes (see Lucian, *Zeuxis*, § 2; *Timon*, § 41). Cicero says in the next letter that Hirtius, though annoyed with Antony, is devoted to the Cæsarian party (as also to the memory of Cæsar, see pp. 44, 47, 49). If, therefore, they trust in his support, they will find themselves deceived—they will be reckoning without their host, and will find only disappointment.

² That is, from the meeting of the senate on the 1st of June. At this meeting Antony was to report on the *acta* of Cæsar, which he in conjunction with a small committee had been directed to investigate. Cicero, however, declares that the committee never met, that Antony decided as to Cæsar's memoranda and *acta* as he chose, and when the senate met surrounded it with armed guards (2 *Phil.* §§ 100, 108).

the danger which he asserts to have threatened even him : I, however—even supposing there to be no danger—am so far from caring to avoid Antony's suspicion and his thinking me displeased at his success, that the very cause of my unwillingness to come to Rome is to avoid seeing him. Our friend Varro, however, has sent me a letter—I don't know from whom, for he had erased the name—in which it was asserted that the veterans whose claims are postponed—for a certain number had been disbanded—are using most mutinous language, declaring that those who are thought to be against their party will find themselves in great danger at Rome. What then will be "our coming and going, our look and our gait," among such fellows? Nay, if Lucius Antonius—as you tell me—is attacking Decimus Brutus, and the rest our heroes, what am I to do? How am I to bear myself? In short, I have made up my mind—at any rate, if things don't alter—to absent myself from a city in which I once not only flourished in the highest position, but even when a subject enjoyed one of some sort. However, I have not so much resolved to quit Italy—about which I will consult you—as not to come to Rome.

DCCXXXV (A XV, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 25 JUNE

OUR friend Brutus has, as well as Cassius, written to me to urge that I should bring over Hirtius to the right side as much as possible. I neither knew that he entertained loyal sentiments, nor did I feel any confidence in being able to improve him in that respect by my influence :¹ for though he is perhaps somewhat irritated with Antony, he is devotedly attached to the cause. Nevertheless, I wrote to him and commended to him the maintenance of the civil position of

¹ The text is corrupt, and the rendering conjectural.

Brutus and Cassius. I wished you to know the nature of his answer, in case you might entertain the same opinion as myself, namely, that that party are even now afraid of those heroes of ours having perhaps more courage than they actually do retain.

Hirtius to his friend Cicero.

You want to know whether I have yet returned from the country. Am I to be shewing indifference, when all the world is in a state of excitement? I in fact have left town because it is my belief that my absence is more advantageous than my presence. I despatch this letter to you when on the point of starting for my Tusculan villa. Don't imagine me to be so indefatigable as to hurry back by the 5th. I can't see that there is anything now requiring my attention, especially as provision for safety has been made for so many years in advance. How I wish that Brutus and Cassius may be induced by your entreaties not to enter upon any hot-headed design, as easily as they can obtain a like promise from you in regard to myself! For you say that they have written what you mention when on the point of leaving the country. Why or whither are they going? Stop them, I beseech you, Cicero: and don't allow the present settlement to be entirely undone, which, on my honour, is being shaken by plunder, arson, and murder. Let them only take precautions against absolute danger: don't let them attempt anything beyond. I assure you they will gain nothing more by the most spirited policy than by resolutely playing the waiting game, so long as they remain on the alert. For things here are in a state of transition, and cannot from their very nature last long as they are. If a struggle occurs they have means to strike an ugly blow. What your hopes are for them write and tell me at my Tusculan villa.

There's Hirtius's letter. I said in answer that they were not contemplating anything more stirring than usual; and I assured him of it. I wanted you to know this, for what it was worth. Just as I had sealed this letter Balbus writes to say that Servilia has returned to town, and assures him that they do not intend to leave the country. So now I am looking forward to a letter from you

DCCXXXVI (A XV, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 29 MAY

THANK you for those letters, which have given me great pleasure, especially that of my friend Sextus.¹ You will say: "Yes, because he compliments you." I suppose, by Hercules, that it is partly the reason: but all the same, even before I came to that passage, I was greatly delighted both by his sentiments on politics and his style of writing. Servius, however, the peacemaker, and his young secretary seem to have undertaken a mission and to be on their guard against all possible quibbles of the law. However, what they ought to have been afraid of was not "the joining hands in legal claim," but what follows.² Pray write.

DCCXXXVII (F XI, 2)

BRUTUS AND CASSIUS TO M. ANTONIUS
(AT ROME)

LANUVIUM (LATE IN MAY)

BRUTUS and Cassius, prætors, to M. Antonius, consul. If we had not been convinced of your honour and kind feeling to ourselves, we should not have written this letter to you. And this being the state of your mind, you will, we feel sure, receive it with all possible favour. Our correspondents inform us that a crowd of veterans has already collected at

¹ Sextus Peducæus.

² That is, *sed magis ferro rem repetunt*, "but rather enforce their claim by the sword" (see vol. i., p. 350). What Servius Sulpicius was doing we don't know, perhaps trying to negotiate terms between Antony and the assassins.

Rome, and that there will be a much greater one there by the 1st of June.¹ If we entertained any doubt or fear of you, we should be untrue to ourselves. But since we have put ourselves in your hands, and under your advice have dismissed our friends from the country towns, and done so by a circular letter as well as by an edict, we have a claim to be admitted to your confidence, especially in a matter which touches ourselves.

Wherefore we beg you to let us know what your feeling towards us is: whether you think that we shall be safe in the midst of such a crowd of veteran soldiers, who, we hear, even think of replacing the altar.² That is a thing which we think that hardly anyone can wish or approve, who desires our safety and honour. The result shews clearly that our aim from the first was peace, and that we have had no other object than the liberty of all. No one can beguile us except yourself, and that is a course of conduct quite alien to your virtue and honour. But no one else has the means of deceiving us: for it is you alone that we have trusted and intend to trust. Our friends are disturbed by a very great alarm on our account. For though they have every confidence in your good faith, they yet cannot help reflecting that the crowd of veteran soldiers can be more easily moved by others in any particular direction, than they can be held back by you. We ask you to write back and explain everything. For the suggestion that notice has been given to the veterans to appear, because you intended to bring in a law about their pensions in June, is wholly inadequate and meaningless. For whom do you think likely to hinder it, since in regard to ourselves we have made up our minds to do nothing whatever? We ought not to be thought by anyone too greedy of life, since nothing can happen to us without general disaster and confusion.

¹ See pp. 48, 90, for Antony's picked guard.

² The altar and column erected by the pseudo-Marius in the forum on the spot where Cæsar's body had been burnt. Dolabella had removed it. See pp. 33, 35, 40.

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DCCXXXVIII (A XV, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 31 MAY

SINCE you left me I have had two letters from Brutus, without anything new in them. Also one from Hirtius, who says that the veterans are much incensed with him. I am still uncertain what to do about the 1st. I am therefore sending Tiro, and with Tiro a number of men, to each one of whom pray give a letter as each event occurs. I have written also to Antony about a legation, for fear that, if I only wrote to Dolabella, that quick-tempered man¹ might be stirred up to wrath. As, however, he is said to be somewhat difficult of approach, I have written to Eutrapelus,² asking him to forward my letter to him, saying that I want a *legatio*. A votive legation would be the more honourable of the two, but I could manage with either one or the other.³ I beg you again and again to consider your own position. If possible I should like to talk it over with you; if you cannot meet me, we shall attain the same object by letter. Græceius writes me word that C. Cassius has written to tell him that men are being got ready to send armed to my Tusculan villa. I scarcely think that this is true: but, nevertheless, I must take precautions and have sundry other villas ready. But to-morrow will bring us something for reflexion on that subject.⁴

¹ The other consul Antony.

² Antony's *præfectus fabrum*. See vol. iii., pp. 96, 102.

³ That is, either an ordinary or a votive *legatio*. See p. 70.

⁴ The text of this sentence is very uncertain. I have translated that of Tyrrell and Purser, as at any rate making a kind of sense. If it stands Cicero may mean by "having sundry other villas" ready, not that he will obtain more, but that he may be able to elude attack by going from one to the other of those which he already possessed.

DCCXXXIX (A XV, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 2 JUNE

ON the evening of the 2nd I received a letter from Balbus telling me that there would be a meeting of the senate on the 5th, in order to appoint Brutus to the superintendence of the corn-supply in Asia, Cassius in Sicily. What an indignity! To begin with, to take any appointment from that party, and then, if they must take some office, such a subordinate one as that, which could be done by *legati*! And yet I don't feel sure that it isn't better than sitting idle on the banks of his Eurotas.¹ But these things will be governed by fortune. He says also that a decree is going to be passed at the same meeting for assigning provinces to them and other ex-prætors. This is certainly better than his "Persian Portico"—for I would not have you imagine that I mean a Sparta farther off than Lanuvium.² "Are you laughing," you ask, "in such grave matters?" What am I to do? I am tired of lamenting. Good heavens, what a fright the first page of your letter gave me! Why, how did that warlike outbreak in your house come about? But I rejoice that that storm-cloud at any rate has passed quickly away. I am very anxious to hear how you sped on that conciliatory mission—it was a melancholy as well as a difficult one.³ For the knot cannot be

¹ A stream in the property of Brutus at Lanuvium, to which he had given the name of the river of Sparta.

² Reading *nolo enim Lacedæmonem longinquiores Lanuvio existimari*. But both text and meaning are very uncertain. The Περσική *porticus* seems to refer to some covered walk in Brutus's property at Lanuvium, also named from the στροά Περσική at Sparta, for which see Pausanias, ii. 11, 3. The latter was so named from being adorned by spoils taken at Platæa. The Roman Stoics affected an admiration of Sparta and Spartan ways.

³ Apparently Atticus was contemplating a visit to Brutus at Lanuvium with some proposals from Antony's party (see p. 56). The visit, how-

untied: we are so completely hemmed in by every kind of force. For myself, the letter of Brutus, which you shew me that you have read, has caused me so much agitation that, though I was already at a loss which course to adopt, I am yet rendered still less ready to act from distress of mind. But I will write more fully when I have your news. For the present I have nothing to say, and the less so that I am doubtful of your getting even this letter. For it is uncertain whether the letter-carrier will find you. I am very anxious for a letter from you.

DCCXL (A XV, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 6 JUNE

WHAT an affectionate letter from Brutus! How unlucky for you that you are unable to go to see him! Yet, what am I to say? That they should accept the favour of that party? What could be more degrading? That they should attempt some move? They neither have the courage nor—as things are now—the power. Well, suppose they take my advice and do nothing. Who can guarantee their safety? For if any severe measure is taken as to Decimus, what kind of life will our heroes lead, even supposing no one actually attacks them? Again, not to preside at his own games, what could be a greater indignity?¹ To give them the duty of purchasing

ever, did not come off, and Brutus and Cassius presently removed to Antium. What the *casus armorum* refers to we cannot tell. Some of Antony's ever-increasing bodyguards may have had some fracas at his house.

¹ As *prætor urbanus* Brutus ought to have presided at the *ludi Apollinares* (about 12th July). As he did not venture to Rome, they were presided over by another prætor, Gaius Antonius. Cicero declares that the name of Brutus was loudly cheered (2 *Phil.* § 31), but according to Appian (*B. C.* iii. 24), this was not so, and indeed we shall find in another letter that it was very questionable (*Att.* xvi. 4 and 5).

corn—isn't that a case of "Dion's embassy"?¹ Is there a more menial office in the public service? Even advice in such a matter is absolutely dangerous to those who give it. However, I might neglect that consideration if I were only doing some good. But why put my foot in, if it is all for nothing? Since he is availing himself of his mother's² advice, not to say prayers, why should I put my oar in? Nevertheless, I will consider what style of letter to write. For hold my tongue I cannot. Therefore I will send a letter at once to Antium³ or Circeii.

DCCXLI (A XV, ¹¹~~10~~)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ANTIUM, 8 JUNE

I REACHED Antium on the 8th. Brutus was delighted at my arrival. Thereupon in the presence of a large party—Servilia, dear Tertius, and Porcia⁴—he asked me my opinion. Favonius⁵ was there too. I had thought over what to say as I was on the road, and now advised him to avail himself of the corn-purchasing office in Asia. I urged that all we could now do was to consult for his safety: that on him depended the defence of the constitution itself. I had just got well into my speech when Cassius came in. I repeated the same remarks. At this point Cassius with a determined

¹ This *cura annonæ* was given them during their prætorship to enable them to absent themselves from Italy with a decent excuse; it did not affect the question of their provinces for the next year. It was not a dignified office like that of Pompey, who had authority all over the Empire, while they had it only in a narrow district. Cicero calls it a case of "Dion's legation," referring to the removal of Dion from Syracuse by the younger Dionysius under the pretence of sending him on an embassy to Peloponnesus.

² Servilia. ³ Where Brutus and Cassius now were.

⁴ Servilia, mother of Brutus; Tertius, his half-sister and wife of Cassius; Porcia, his second wife, recently married.

⁵ For this imitator of Cato, see vol. ii., p. 31; cp. vol. i., pp. 35, 188.

look in his eyes—you would have said he was breathing war—declared that “he would not go to Sicily. Was he to accept as a favour what was meant as an insult?” “What are you going to do then?” said I. He replied that he would go to Achaia. “And you, Brutus?” said I. “To Rome, if you think it right,” said he. “I don’t think so at all,” said I, “for you will not be safe.” “But if I could be there safely, would you think I ought to go?” “Yes,” said I, “and that you should not go to a province either now or after your prætorship. But I do not advise your trusting yourself to the city.” Then I stated the reasons, which will doubtless occur to you, why he was not likely to be safe there. Then followed a long conversation in which they complained—and especially Cassius—that opportunities had been let slip. They were especially hard upon Decimus.¹ I said that they should not harp on the past, but I agreed with them all the same. When, however, I had begun discussing what ought to have been done—my topics were the old ones and such as are in everybody’s mouth—without touching upon the question as to whether some one else ought to have been attacked,² I said that the senate should have been summoned, the people already burning with excitement should have been still farther roused, that the whole government of the state should have been taken in hand by them. At that point your friend Servilia exclaims: “That indeed I never heard anyone——” Here I stopped her. But I not only think that Cassius will go,³ for Servilia promised to see that this corn-commissionership should be cut out of the senatorial decree, but Brutus also was quickly induced to give up that foolish talk of being determined to go to Rome. He accordingly settled that the games should be given in his name without his presence. He, however, appeared to me to wish to start for Asia from Antium. In short, I got no satisfaction from my journey except the consciousness of having done my duty. For it was impossible for me to allow him to quit Italy without my having had an interview with him. Barring

¹ Because he had used his forces in Gallia Cisalpina in wars with the natives instead of attacking Antony.

² That is, Antony. See pp. 41, 48.

³ To Achaia, on his way to take possession of his province of Syria.

the discharge of this obligation of duty and affection, I could only ask myself :

“ What doth thy journey here avail thee, seer ? ”

In good truth I found a ship with timbers all started, or rather gone to pieces. No plan, no system, no method ! Accordingly, though I had no doubt before, I am now more bent than ever “ to fly away ”—and that at the first chance—

“ Where deeds and fame of the Pelopidæ
May greet my ears no more.”¹

But look here ! Not to keep you in the dark, Dolabella named me his *legatus* on the 2nd of June. That announcement reached me yesterday evening. Even you did not approve of my having a “ votive legation.” And indeed it would have been absurd for me to be discharging the vows made in case of the constitution being maintained, after that constitution had been overthrown. Besides “ free legations ” have, I think, a fixed limit of time by the Julian law, and an addition is difficult to secure. The sort of legation I want is one that admits of my coming back or going out as I choose : and that is now secured to me.² Very pleasant too is the privilege of exercising this right for five years.³ Yet why think about five years ? If I am not deceived the end is not far off. But *absit omen*.

¹ See vol. iii., p. 100, etc.

² Cicero was named an ordinary *legatus* to Dolabella as governor of Syria, though of course it was understood that he was to do no duties. A *libera legatio* did not attach a man to any particular governor, but on the other hand was limited in point of time. Cicero himself had carried a law in his consulship in regard to them.

³ The period for which Dolabella had the governorship apparently, for he was to carry on the Parthian war (Appian, *B. C.* iii. §§ 7, 8).

DCCXLII (A XV, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ASTURA, 10 JUNE

I AM glad to hear about Buthrotum.¹ But I had sent Tiro, as you bade me, to Dolabella with a letter. What harm can it do? About our friends at Antium I think my last letter was sufficiently full and explicit. It must have convinced you that they intended to take no active step, but to avail themselves of Antony's insulting favour. Cassius would have nothing to do with the corn business. Servilia said that she would get it cut out of the senatorial decree.² Our friend Brutus, however, assumes very tragic airs and says—after agreeing with me that he cannot be safe at Rome—that he will start for Asia as soon as he has handed over the equipment for the games to those who are to hold them, for he prefers to give them, though he won't be present at them. He is collecting vessels. He is full of his voyage. Meanwhile they intend to stay where they are. Brutus indeed says that he will visit Astura. Lucius Antonius on his part writes to me in a courteous tone bidding me have no anxiety. I owe him one favour, perhaps I shall owe him another if he comes to my Tusculan house.³ What unendurable worries! Yet we do endure them after all. "Which of the Bruti (oh rightly named!) is to blame for this?"⁴ In

¹ The favourable decision of the consuls. See pp. 94-95.

² The decree promoted by Antony seems to have had two provisions: (a) an indemnity to Brutus and Cassius for being absent from Rome during their prætorship; (b) an appointment to a *curatio annonæ* in Sicily and Asia. The compromise suggested by Servilia seems to have been that the first should be passed, but not the second, or if it named Sicily and Asia as the places to which they were authorized to go, that the purpose (the *curatio annonæ*) should not be mentioned.

³ Lucius Antonius was a tribune. He seems to have written to Cicero telling him that he need have no anxiety as to the rumoured intention of attacking his house at Tusculum. See p. 65.

⁴ Cicero seems to be punning on the word *brutus*, "stupid," and to hesitate as to which of the two Bruti was most to blame for the present

Octavianus,¹ as I have perceived, there is no little ability and spirit; and he seems likely to be as well disposed to our heroes as I could wish. But what confidence one can feel in a man of his age, name, inheritance, and upbringing may well give us pause. His stepfather, whom I have seen at Astura, thinks none at all. However, we must foster him and—if nothing else—keep him apart from Antony. Marcellus² will be doing admirable service if he gives him good advice.³ Octavian seemed to me to be devoted to him: but he has no great confidence in Pansa and Hirtius. His disposition is good, if it does but last.

DCCXLIII (A XV, 16 a)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ASTURA, 11 JUNE

At length a letter-carrier from my son! And, by Hercules, a letter elegantly expressed, shewing in itself some progress. Others also give me excellent reports of him. Leonides, however, still sticks to his favourite "at present."⁴ But Herodes speaks in the highest terms of him. In short, I am glad even to be deceived in this matter, and am not sorry to be credulous. Pray let me know if Statius has written to you anything of importance to me.

situation—Marcus for refusing to include Antony in the assassination, or Decimus for not using the troops which he possessed as governor of Cisalpine Gaul against Antony.

¹ This is the first time that Cicero gives the young Augustus the name which acknowledges his adoption by Cæsar's will. Though the full formalities were not carried out for another year, he was by that adoption *Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus* (instead of *Octavius*).

² Husband of Octavia, Octavian's sister. Consul B.C. 49.

³ The text is corrupt.

⁴ See p. 32.

DCCXLIV (A XV, 16 b)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ASTURA (12 JUNE)

I TELL you what! this is a lovely place—retired at any rate and, if you want to write anything, free from anyone to spy you out. But somehow or other “home is sweet”: and my feet draw me back to Tusculum. And after all one seems very soon likely to have enough of the somewhat artificial charms of this pretty coast. I am also for my part afraid of rain, if our prognostics are true; for the frogs are loudly “discoursing.” Please let me know where and on what day I can see Brutus.

DCCXLV (A XV, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ASTURA, 13 JUNE

CONFOUND Lucius Antonius, if he makes himself trouble some to the Buthrotians! I have drawn out a deposition which shall be signed and sealed whenever you please. As for the money of the Arpinates, if the ædile¹ L. Fadius asks for it, pay him back every farthing. In a previous letter I mentioned to you a sum of 110 sester tia to be paid to Statius. If, then, Fadius applies for the money, I wish it paid to him, and to no one except Fadius. I think that amount was put into my hands, and I have written to Eros to produce it.

I can't stand the Queen: and the voucher for her promises, Hammonius, knows that I have good cause for saying

¹ Chief magistrate of Arpinum. See vol. iii., p. 63 (*Fam.* xiii. 11).

so. What she promised, indeed, were all things of the learned sort and suitable to my character—such as I could avow even in a public meeting.¹ As for Sara, besides finding him to be an unprincipled rascal, I also found him inclined to give himself airs to me. I only saw him once at my house. And when I asked him politely what I could do for him, he said that he had come in hopes of finding Atticus.² The Queen's insolence, too, when she was living in Cæsar's trans-Tiberine villa, I cannot recall without a pang. I won't have anything to do therefore with that lot. They think not so much that I have no spirit, as that I have scarcely any proper pride at all. My leaving Italy is hindered by Eros's way of doing business. For whereas from the balances struck by him on the 5th of April I ought to be well off, I am obliged to borrow, while the receipts from those paying properties of mine I think have been put aside for building *the* shrine.³ But I have charged Tiro to see to all this, whom I am sending to Rome for the express purpose.

I did not wish to add to your existing embarrassments. The steadier the conduct of my son, the more I am vexed at his being hampered. For he never mentioned the subject to me—the first person to whom he should have done so. But he said in a letter to Tiro that he had received nothing since the 1st of April—for that was the end of his financial year. Now I know that your own kind feeling always caused you to be of opinion that he ought to be treated not only with liberality, but with splendour and generosity, and that you also considered that to be due to my position. Wherefore pray see—I would not have troubled you if I could have done it through anyone else—that he has a bill of exchange at Athens for his year's allowance. Eros will pay you the money. I am sending Tiro on that business. Pray therefore see to it, and write and tell me any idea you may have on the subject.

¹ Probably books. Cicero once before jestingly said that he could take a present of books without breaking the law. See vol. i., p. 60.

² The implied discourtesy seems to consist in Sara's professing to be at Cicero's levée for the sake of seeing some one else, not Cicero himself.

³ In memory of Tullia (see vol. iii., p. 206, *sq.*). The design has not been mentioned for a long time now, but apparently had not yet definitely been abandoned.

DCCXLVI (A XV, 17)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ASTURA, 14 JUNE

I RECEIVED two letters on the 14th, one dated the same day, the other the day before. First, then, to the earlier one. Yes, tell me about Brutus when you know. I am informed about the pretended terror of the consuls.¹ For Sicca had—with loyal warmth indeed, but somewhat confusedly—already informed me of that suspicion also.² Well, what is your opinion? Is it, "Never refuse a good offer"?³ For I haven't a word from Siregius.⁴ I don't like it. I am very much annoyed that anyone was informed about your neighbour Plætorius before myself.⁵ As to Syrus, you acted with wisdom. You will, I think, have no difficulty in keeping Lucius Antonius off by means of his brother.⁶ I told you not to pay Antro, but you had not received my letter telling you not to pay anyone but L. Fadius.⁷ I am not at all angry with Arabio about Sittius.⁸ I don't think of starting on my journey unless my accounts are all square,⁹ and I think you agree with me in that. So much for your earlier letter.

Now for the other. It is like your usual kindness to serve

¹ Their pretence of being afraid of some violence on the part of Brutus and Cassius.

² Unless this refers to the previous clause we have no means of knowing what suspicion he means. For Sicca, see vol. i., p. 142; vol. ii., p. 275.

³ See vol. ii., p. 180: τὰ μὲν διδόμενα, sc. δέχου.

⁴ Unknown. Some suggest *Sara regio* (see last letter).

⁵ This may refer to the recall of M. Plætorius Cestianus. He had been condemned in B.C. 51 (vol. ii., p. 89).

⁶ L. Antonius, as tribune, seems to have threatened to stop the measure of relief for the Buthrotians. See p. 73.

⁷ See last letter. Antro was a freedman.

⁸ P. Sittius of Nuceria was an old friend of Cicero's; but we don't know what is referred to here.

⁹ It is uncertain what A means (perhaps λοίπῳ, "balance"). See p. 74.

Servilia, that is, Brutus. As to the Queen I am glad you don't feel anxious, and that you accept the evidence. For the accounts furnished by Eros, I have both gone into them myself and have summoned him to come to me. I am exceedingly obliged by your promise to furnish my son with what is needful. Messalla,¹ on his way from Lanuvium, called on me; he had just come from Athens and gave me a wonderfully good report of him. And upon my word his own letter was so affectionate and well-written, that I shouldn't shrink from reading it before company: which makes me all the more desirous of indulging him. I don't think Sestius is annoyed about Bucilianus.² When Tiro once gets back I think of going to Tusculum. Pray write at once and tell me anything I ought to know.

DCCXLVII (A XV, 18)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ON THE ROAD TO TUSCULUM, 15 JUNE

THOUGH I think I told you sufficiently fully what I needed and what I wanted you to do, if it was convenient to you, nevertheless, having started on the 15th, and while on board the boat in the lake, I came to the conclusion that I must send Tiro to you, that he might take part in the business affairs now in progress. I am also writing to Dolabella telling him that if he has no objection I wished to start, and asking him for an order for sumpter mules for the journey.³ Considering the circumstances—for I quite understand that, what with

¹ M. Valerius Messalla, who had been with young Cicero at Athens. See vol. iii., p. 225.

² Bucilianus and his brother Cæcilius were induced by Brutus to join the assassins (App. B. C. ii. 113, 117). He accompanied Brutus to Macedonia (see p. 104). What had occurred about him now we cannot tell.

³ As *legatus* of a proconsul Cicero would have the right to the services of some public mules or horses.

the Buthrotians and what with Brutus, "you are distracted with business, while I suspect that the trouble and even the superintendence of the latter's costly games falls to a great extent on you—well, as far as circumstances will admit, give me some little of your services: for I don't want much. In my opinion the state of affairs points to bloodshed, and that at a near date. You see what the men are, you see how they are arming.¹ I really don't think I am safe. But if you think otherwise, I should like you to write to me. For I should much prefer staying at home if I can do so safely.

DCCXLVIII (A XV, 19)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, AFTER 16 JUNE

WHAT need is there for any farther venture on behalf of the Buthrotians? I ask, because you remark that all your trouble has been thrown away. Why again is Brutus returning? I am grieved, on my honour, that you have been so distracted. You have to thank those ten land-commissioner fellows for that.² Yes, that was a tough piece of business, but it had to be borne, and I am exceedingly obliged to you. As to taking up arms—I never saw anything more patent. So let me be off, as you say. I don't know what Theophanes³ wants with an interview: he has already written to me, and I answered him as best I could. However, he writes to say that he wants to call on me, to discuss some business of his own and certain matters affecting myself. I am anxious for a letter from you. Pray take care that nothing rash is done. Statius has written to tell

¹ Referring again to the increasing bodyguard enlisted by Antony from the flower of the *veterani*. See p. 8, etc.

² The *decemviri* or land-commissioners for distributing extra-Italian land.

³ Theophanes of Mitylene, who had been Pompey's secretary and friend (vol. i., p. 90).

me that Quintus Cicero¹ has spoken to him in very strong terms, saying that he cannot put up with the present state of affairs: that he is resolved to go over to Brutus and Cassius. Of course I am now anxious to learn all about this: I am quite unable to explain its meaning. It may be that he is angry with Antony about something; it may be that he now wants some new chance of distinguishing himself; it may be a mere passing fancy. And, indeed, it is doubtless that. All the same I am nervous about it and his father is quite upset. For he knows what he used to say about Antony: in fact he said to me what won't bear repetition. I cannot conceive what he has got in his head. I shall only have such commissions from Dolabella as I choose—that is, none at all. Tell me about Gaius Antonius—did he wish to be on the land-commission? He was at any rate worthy of such a company.² As to Menedemus it is as you say. Pray keep me acquainted with everything.

DCCXLIX (A XV, 20)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, ABOUT 20 JUNE

I HAVE thanked Vettienus, for nothing could have been kinder. Let Dolabella give me any commissions he chooses, even to take a message to Nicias.³ For who, as you say, will care to ask questions?⁴ Or does anyone with any sense in his head doubt that my departure is an act of despair,

¹ The younger Quintus, Cicero's nephew.

² The seven land-commissioners (for distributing land in Italy among the veterans) were Marcus and Gaius Antonius, Dolabella, Domitius of Apulia, P. Decius, Nucula, and Lento. Nucula was a mime-writer, Lento an actor (6 *Phil.* § 14; 8, § 26; 11, § 13). What Cicero thought of these land-commissions (*septemviri* for Italy, *decemviri* for extra-Italian land) may be seen in 2 *Phil.* § 101.

³ Nicias of Cos was a grammarian (vol. ii., p. 221). Cicero means that as his legateship to Dolabella was a colourable one, Dolabella may as well give him some trifling commissions to keep up appearances.

⁴ The text is corrupt.

and not really a legation? You say that men are using certain extremist expressions about public affairs, and that too men of sound loyalty. Well, ever since I heard of his speaking of the tyrant in a public meeting as "that most illustrious man,"¹ I began to have qualms of doubt: but when along with you I saw our heroes at Lanuvium with no hope of life but what they received from Antony, I gave it up for lost. And so, my dear Atticus, I would have you receive what I am going to say with the same courage as that with which I write it. Regarding the kind of death experienced by Catulus² as shocking, and yet as in a manner already pronounced against us by Antony, I have resolved to escape from this net, not with a view to flight, but with a hope of a better sort of death. For this Brutus is entirely to blame. You say that Pompeius has been received at Carteia,³ so we shall presently see an army sent against him. Which camp am I to join then? For Antony makes neutrality impossible. The one is weak, the other criminal. Let us make haste therefore. But help me to make up my mind—Brundisium or Puteoli? Brutus for his part is starting somewhat suddenly, but wisely. I feel it a good deal, for when shall I see him again.⁴ But such is life. Even you cannot see him. Heaven confound that dead man for ever meddling with Buthrotum! But let us leave the past. Let us look to what there is to do.

The accounts of Eros, though I have not yet seen him personally, I yet know pretty thoroughly from his own letter and Tiro's report. You say that I must raise a fresh loan for five months, that is, till the 1st of November, of 200 sester tia :⁵ that on that day a certain sum of money falls in owed by Quintus. As Tiro tells me that you would not have me come to Rome on that business, please see, if it does not bore you too much, where to raise the money and put it down to my account. That is what I see for the

¹ See p. 19 (*Att.* xiv. 11), from whence it appears that Cicero did not hear the speech, but read it.

² Taking Madvig's *quo Catulus usus est*. C. Lutatius Catulus was put to death by Marius or forced to kill himself in B.C. 87.

³ Sextus Pompeius. Carteia is the modern St. Roch, near Gibraltar.

⁴ He saw him again in July at Antium and at Velia in August, but never after Brutus left Italy.

⁵ About £1,600.

present to be necessary. As to other details I will demand a stricter account from Eros himself—among other things as¹ to the rents of the dower properties. If these are faithfully collected for the benefit of my son, though I wish him more liberally provided, yet he will have pretty well as much as he needs. And indeed I see that I shall want some journey-money also. But my son will be paid from these properties as the money comes in. I, on the contrary, need a lump sum. The fact is that though that trembler at shadows² appears to me to have his eye on massacre, I am nevertheless not going to budge unless the payment of the money is arranged. But whether it has been arranged or not I shall learn when I see you. I thought this ought to be written by my own hand, and I have accordingly so written it. Yes, you are right about Fadius—not in any case to anyone else.³ Please answer this to-day.

DCCL (A XV, 21)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 21 JUNE

LET me tell you this—Quintus the elder is jumping for joy. For his son has written to say that he desired to desert to Brutus, because, when Antony charged him to secure his being made dictator, and to seize some fort, he refused. He says also that he refused for fear of hurting his father's feelings: and that ever since Antony had been his enemy. "Thereupon," says he, "I pulled myself together for fear he should do you some injury. So I smoothed him down: and indeed got 400 sestertia from him in cash, and a promise of more." Statius, moreover, writes word that the young man

¹ Certain houses at Rome which had belonged to Terentia and were retained to furnish her son's allowance. See p. 90.

² Antony, who—as Cicero said before (p. 95)—was pretending to be afraid of Brutus and Cassius.

³ See p. 73.

desires to share his father's house. This is a wonderful story, and my brother is in raptures with it. Did you ever know a greater fraud?¹

You were both quite right to hesitate as to the affair of Canus.² I had had no suspicion about the deeds—I thought her dowry had been repayed in full.³ I shall look forward to hearing what you postpone mentioning in order to discuss it when we meet. Keep my letter-carriers as long as you like: for I know you are busy. As to Xeno—quite right! I will send you what I am writing when I have finished it.⁴ You told Quintus that you had sent him a letter: no one had brought one. Tiro says that you don't now approve of my going by Brundisium, and indeed that you say something about soldiers there. Well, I had already settled in my mind upon Hydruntum;⁵ for your saying that it was only a five hours' voyage had great weight with me. But to start from this side—what a weary voyage! But I shall see. I have had no letter from you on the 21st. Naturally; for what is there new to say any longer? Therefore come as soon as you can. I am in haste, lest Sextus Pompeius should get here first. They say he is on his way.⁶

¹ The younger Quintus was, it seems, much given to romancing. See Letter DCVII (*Att.* xiii. 30); cp. pp. 78, 97. His present object seems to have been to get over his father, probably in view of money help. Antony revenged himself on him for his change of allegiance by putting him on the proscription list in B.C. 43.

² Apparently as to young Quintus marrying Cana, daughter of Q. Gellius Canus. See Letter DCLVIII.

³ Cana had divorced her previous husband.

⁴ Perhaps the *de Amicitia*.

⁵ Modern *Otranto*.

⁶ Sext. Pompeius was in command of a great fleet, and was dominating Southern Spain and Sicily. The senate was later on glad to acknowledge him as commander of the Roman fleet against Antony. Antony had proposed to restore him to his civil rights, and get about 5,000,000 sterling voted him as compensation for his father's property, but the negotiations had broken down, owing to his demands of a more complete restoration of property (see Letter DCCLXVIII; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 4). At present, therefore, his coming would be the beginning of a civil war which Cicero was dreading and hoped to get out of Italy in time to avoid it.

DCCLI (F XVI, 23)

TO TIRO (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM (21 JUNE)

WELL, settle about the tax-return if you can: though this particular money is not properly liable to such a return. However—no matter! Balbus writes to say that he has such a violent catarrh that he has lost his voice. As to Antonius and his law—it's all one.¹ Let them only leave me my country life. I have written to Bithynicus.² I must leave you to make your own reflexions on Servilius³—for you rather want to live to be an old man. As for me, our dear Atticus, having once noticed that I was in a panic, thinks that it is always so with me, and does not see with what a panoply of philosophy I am now armed. In fact he creates alarm by being frightened himself. After all I really do wish to keep up my friendship with Antony,⁴ which has now lasted a long time without a quarrel, and I will write to him, but not till I have seen you. Yet I don't want to call you off from looking after your bond—every man for himself!

¹ Probably a law of L. Antonius as to the assignment of land. But we do not know.

² Q. Pompeius Bithynicus had written to ask Cicero to look after his interests while he was in Sicily. See Letter DCXCVIII, p. 3.

³ P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus had just died at a very advanced age. "You must make up your own mind," says Cicero, "whether it is a blessing to have lived so long. I am not myself afraid of death, as Atticus thinks I am." Servilius was consul B.C. 79—when he conquered the Isauræ, and was over eighty when he died. For a curious anecdote illustrating the respect in which he was held, see Dio, 45, 16.

⁴ Tiro had apparently written urging Cicero to make some advances to Antony. In truth there had been very early bitterness between them. (see vol. i., p. 378), with intervals of friendship (2 *Phil.* § 49).

⁵ γόνυ κνήμης, sc. ἔγγιον, "the knee is nearer than the shin," "charity begins at home" (Theocr. xv. 18). The proverb appears in various forms in Latin as: *tunica propior pallio* (Plaut. *Trin.* v. 2, 30); *proximus sum egomet mihi* (Terence, *Andr.* 636); *omnes sibi malle melius esse quam alteri* (id. *Andr.* 427).

I am expecting Lepta¹ . . . to-morrow. To qualify the bitter rue of his talk I shall want the sweet marjoram of yours. Good-bye.

DCCLII (A XV, 22)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM (23 JUNE)

I CONGRATULATE ourselves that young Quintus has gone out of town: he won't be a nuisance to us. I believe Pansa is using satisfactory language. For I know that he has always been closely united with Hirtius. I think he will be a very warm friend to Brutus and Cassius if—it turns out to be expedient. But when will he ever see them?² And that he will be opposed to Antony—but when and on what grounds? How long are we to be fooled? However, I wrote you word that Sextus Pompeius was coming, not because he was actually near, but because he was certainly contemplating that move and because he was not shewing any signs of abandoning arms. Doubtless, if he goes on, war is a certainty. On this side too our dear lover of Cytheris³ thinks no one sure of his life unless he gains a victory. What has Pansa to say to this? Which side will he take if there is war, as I think there will be? But of this and other things when we meet, that is, to-day—as you say in your letter—or to-morrow.

¹ Some other name seems to have been lost from the text.

² That is, when will he take any practical steps to shew his friendship? Cp. p. 78.

³ Antony. See vol. ii., p. 389; vol. iii., p. 102.

DCCLIII (A XV, 23)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM (24 JUNE)

I AM wonderfully distracted, yet not with pain : but a thousand opposite ideas about my journey occur to me. "How long is that to go on?" you will say. Why, until I finally commit myself, that is, till I am actually on board ship. If Pansa has written an answer to your letter, I will send you mine and his together. I am expecting Silius,¹ for whom I have drawn up a memorandum. Send any news. I am writing to Brutus, about whose journey I should like to hear something also from you, if you know anything.

DCCLIV (A XV, 24)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 25 JUNE

THE letter-carrier whom I sent to Brutus came straight back without stopping on the 25th. Servilia told him that Brutus had started at half-past six in the morning. I was much annoyed at my letter not being returned. Silius has not arrived. I have drawn up a statement of his case : I inclose that document to you. I should like to know on what day to expect you.

¹ P. Silius Nerva, who had been proprætor of Bithynia, when Cicero was in Cilicia (see vol. ii., pp. 95, 97). He was a great friend of Atticus, and was at present engaged in a lawsuit as to the succession of some property under the will of a certain Turpilia. See p. 87.

DCCLV (A XV, 14)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM, 26 JUNE

ON the 26th I received a letter from Dolabella, a copy of which I inclose. He says in it that he has acted in all ways to your satisfaction. I wrote back at once thanking him at some length. However, to prevent his wondering why I should do the same a second time, I explained that the reason was that I had not been able previously to get any information from you when we were together. However, to cut the matter short, my answer was as follows :

“Cicero to his friend Dolabella, consul. Having on a previous occasion been informed by a letter from our friend Atticus of the great liberality and the very great kindness which you had shewn him ; and you having yourself written to tell me of your having done everything that we wished, I wrote to thank you in language meant to shew that you could have done me no greater favour. But when Atticus himself came to see me with the express purpose of declaring his gratitude to you, whose really eminent and surprising kindness in the business of the Buthrotians and marked affection for himself he had thoroughly appreciated, I could not be restrained from giving a more open expression to the same feeling on my part in this letter. Let me assure you, my dear Dolabella, that of all your kindnesses and services to me—eminent as they are—the most generous and gratifying in my eyes is this, that you have made Atticus understand how much I love you and you me. For the rest, though the claims and political existence of the Buthrotians have been set on a firm foundation by you, I would wish you—for I always want to make my favours secure—to resolve that, having been taken under your care and frequently recommended by me, they shall continue to enjoy the support of your influence and active assistance. That will be sufficient protection to the Buthrotians for ever, and you will have set both Atticus

and myself free from great care and anxiety if you undertake in compliment to me to resolve that they shall always enjoy your defence. I warmly and repeatedly entreat you to do so."

After writing this letter I devoted myself to my treatise,¹ which, however, I fear will require to be scored by your red wax² in a good number of places. I have been so distracted and hindered by engrossing thoughts.

DCCLVI (A XV, 25)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM (28 JUNE)

As to my journey various opinions are expressed : for I have a great number of visitors. But pray throw yourself heart and soul into that question. It is a serious matter. Do you approve of my idea of returning by the 1st of January? My mind is quite open on the subject—only provided that I do not give offence. I should like to know also the day on which the Olympic games begin. As you say in your letter, chance will decide the plan of my journey.³ Don't let me

¹ The *de Officiis*, which he was composing for the benefit of his son.

² Wax wafers stuck on to mark places for alteration

³ The text of these two sentences is so corrupt that it is necessary to state distinctly what reading I have adopted. *Velim etiam scire quo die Olympia (sint). Ut tu scribis, casus consilium nostri itineris indicabit.* I altogether disbelieve the idea that *olim piaculum* (for *Olympia sint*) can be explained by a reference to Clodius's violation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. That was now nearly eighteen years ago. Its importance is generally exaggerated owing to its immediate effects on Cicero, and it was well forgotten by this time after so many more startling events, and we cannot conceive its influencing the date of Cicero's return. I think the *mysteria scilicet* grew out of a mistaken explanation of a mistaken reading and should be left out. The second reference to *mysteria* I think refers to the Eleusinian mysteries. Cicero was going to Athens and wished to stay till after their annual celebration (September), but did not wish to stay so late as to have to sail home in the winter if he could help it. The reason he asks about the Olympia is shewn by *Att.*

make up my mind, therefore. For a winter voyage is detestable, and it was on that account I asked you the day of the mysteries. Brutus, as you say, I imagine that I shall probably see. I think of leaving this place on the 30th.

DCCLVII (F VII, 21)

TO C. TREBATIUS TESTA (AT ROME)

(TUSCULUM, JUNE)

I HAVE explained Silius's case to you. He has since been to see me. When I told him that in your opinion we might safely make that *stipulation*, "In case the prætor Q. Cæpio, in accordance with his edict, has granted me possession of Turpilia's estate,"¹ he remarked, that Servius's doctrine was that a will made by a party who had not the legal power of making one was no will, and Ofilius concurred. He said he had had no talk with you, and asked me to commend his cause to your care. There is no better man, my dear Testa, nor anyone more attached to me than Publius Silius, yourself however excepted.

You will therefore very much oblige me if you will go to him and volunteer your services: and if you love me, do so as soon as possible. I beg you warmly and repeatedly to do this.

xvi. 7. He didn't wish it to be thought that he was going to Greece to attend the Olympic games.

¹ This *stipulatio* or *sponsio* was a preliminary proceeding in the case of a dispute as to the validity of a will. The prætor allowed the parties to make a bargain—the heir named in the will took formal possession of the estate, and the party who would be heir if there was no will agreed to pay down some forfeit of money if the decision was against him. The question then nominally tried was, "had the prætor given such a decision?" Of course the real question tried was the validity of the will, which in this case turned on the question whether Turpilia had satisfied all the formal requirements for enabling a woman to make a valid will.

DCCLVIII (F VII, 22)

TO C. TREBATIUS TESTA (AT ROME)

(TUSCULUM, JUNE)

YOU jeered at me yesterday amidst our cups, for having said that it was a disputed point whether an heir could lawfully prosecute on an embezzlement which had been committed before he became the owner. Accordingly, though I returned home full of wine and late in the evening, I marked the section in which that question is treated and caused it to be copied out and sent to you. I wanted to convince you that the doctrine which you said was held by no one was maintained by Sextus Ælius, Manius Manilius, Marcus Brutus.¹ Nevertheless, I concur with Scævola and Testa.²

DCCLIX (F XI, 29)

TO GAIUS OPPIUS (AT ROME)

(ANAGNIA, JULY)

WHEN I was hesitating—as my friend Atticus knows—about the entire idea of my journey, because many considerations on both sides kept occurring to my mind, your judgment and advice had great weight in clearing away all feeling of hesitation : for not only did your letter express your opinion frankly, but Atticus also conveyed to me what you had said by word of mouth. It has ever been my opinion that nothing could exceed your wisdom in conceiving or your honesty in imparting advice. I had a supreme instance of this when I

¹ All famous jurisconsults.

² That is, yourself and Q. Mucius Scævola, the great jurisconsult.

wrote to consult you at the beginning of the civil war as to what you thought I ought to do—go to Pompey, or stay in Italy. You advised me to consider what was due to my position.¹ That told me plainly what your opinion was; and I admired your honesty and conscientiousness in giving advice. For though you thought that your dearest friend would wish it to be otherwise, your duty to me was of superior importance in your eyes to his wishes. For my part, even before that time I was attached to you, and always felt that you were attached to me. And when I was abroad and in the midst of great dangers, I remember that both I myself in my absence and my family who were at home enjoyed your attentions and protection. Again, after my return I can call all who usually observe such things to witness on what intimate terms you have been with me, and what feelings I have both entertained and avowed in regard to you. But the weightiest expression of your judgment as to my honour and consistency was given by you when, after Cæsar's death, you devoted yourself heart and soul to my friendship. If I fail to justify that judgment by displaying the warmest affection for you and serving you in every possible way, I shall regard myself as a monster of ingratitude. Pray, my dear Oppius, maintain your love for me—though, after all, I say this more because it is usual to say it, than from an idea that you need to be reminded—and continue to protect all my interests. As to what they are I have charged Atticus to enlighten you. As soon as I have secured a little leisure you may expect a longer letter from me. Take good care to keep well; you cannot oblige me more than by doing that.

¹ He seems to be referring, though not with very great precision, to the joint letter from Oppius and Balbus in March, B.C. 49. See vol. ii., p. 308 (*Fam.* ix. 7 a).

DCCLX (A XV, 26)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 2 JULY

I SEE that you have done all you can about Quintus's business. For his part, he is hesitating whether to oblige Lepta or to damage his son's credit.¹ I have heard it whispered that Lucius Piso wants to go abroad as a legate in virtue of a forged decree of the senate.² I should like to know the truth. That letter-carrier, whom I told you that I sent to Brutus, returned to me at Anagnia on the night of the 30th of June, and brought me a letter, which contained that same request—as unlike as could possibly be conceived to his usually conspicuous good sense—that I should be present at his games.³ I wrote back of course to say, first, that I have already started on my journey, so that it is no longer in my power to do so: and secondly, that it would be the strangest paradox that, while I have not set foot in Rome since this arming⁴ began—and that, not so much from consideration of my personal danger as of my self-respect—I should suddenly come to the games. For to be giving games at such a crisis is honourable enough for him, because he can't help it; but for me to attend them, as it is not necessary, so neither is it honourable. Of course I eagerly desire them to be largely attended and as popular as possible, and I feel sure they will be so; and I bargain with

¹ The younger Quintus seems to have raised money from Lepta, referring him to his father for payment, and the elder Quintus is deliberating whether to honour the draft.

² Cicero charges Antony with various forgeries of decrees and other documents (2 *Phil.* § 97, *sq.*). Cicero has before this period complained of such bogus *senatus consulta*. See vol. iii., p. 107.

³ The games of Apollo (11th-12th July) which Brutus as *prætor urbanus* was going to give, though Gaius Antonius as *prætor* was to preside at them in his absence.

⁴ The enrolling of the six thousand veterans as a guard, and Antony's summons to the legions in Macedonia. See p. 48.

you to send me an account of how they are received from the very first hour they begin, and thenceforth all that happens day by day to their close. But enough of the games.

The remainder of his letter may indeed be regarded in two different lights, yet, nevertheless, he does at times emit some sparks of manly courage. I want you to be able to express what you think of it, and therefore inclose a copy of the letter: though our letter-carrier told me that he had brought a letter from you also from Brutus, and that it had been forwarded to you from Tusculum. I have arranged my journeys so as to be at Puteoli on the 7th of July. For though I am in a great hurry, I mean to take every precaution humanly possible as to my voyage.

Please free Marcus Ælius from his anxiety: tell him that my idea was that a few feet along the edge of the land—and that under the surface—would have some sort of easement upon them:¹ and that I absolutely objected to it, and did not think that anything could make up for it. But, as you suggest, put it as gently as possible, rather by way of relieving him of anxiety than giving him any suspicion of my being annoyed. So also about Tullius's debt, speak to Cascellius in a liberal spirit. It's a small matter, but I am obliged to you for attending to it. It was a bit of rather sharp practice. And if he had taken me in at all, as he nearly did—only that you were too many for him—I should have been seriously annoyed. So, whatever is to be the result, I would prefer the transaction being stayed. Remember that an eighth share of the *ædes Tullianæ* near the temple of Strenia, is due to Cærellia: see that it is conveyed to her at the highest price bid at the auction. I think that was 380 sester tia.²

¹ The reading is uncertain. I have translated Mueller's text, from which a fair sense can be extracted: *M. Ælium cura liberabis; me paucos pedes in extremo fundo et eos quidem subterraneos servitutis putasse aliquid habituros*. Apparently Ælius has acted as Cicero's agent in the purchase of some property, but had not observed that there would be an easement (*servitus*) upon it, probably the right of making some underground drain or watercourse.

² The text in MSS. and editions is hopeless. Emendations of all sorts have been attempted. I think the first thing is to get rid of *luminarum*, "windows," of which it is impossible to make any probable

If there is any news, even if you foresee anything that you think likely to happen, pray write and tell me as often as possible. As I have already charged you to do, pray remember to apologize to Varro for the late arrival of my letter. What terms your friend Mundus has made with Marcus Ennius about the will I should like you to tell me—for I always like to know things.

Arpinum, 2nd July.

DCCLXI (A XV, 27)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 3 JULY

I AM glad that you advise me to do precisely what I did of my own accord yesterday. For when I despatched my letter to you on the 2nd, I gave the same letter-carrier one for Sestius written in very warm terms. As for him, his intention of escorting¹ me to Puteoli is polite; in complaining about me he is unfair. For I was not so much bound to wait for him until he got back from Cosa, as he was not to have gone there until he had seen me, or to have hastened his return. For he knew that I was in a hurry to start, and he had written to say that he would join me at Tusculum.

sense. I have therefore conjectured for *tuli luminarum ædium*, TULLIANARUM ÆDIUM, and suppose it to refer to some block of houses so called, and for *cui Cærellia*, DEBERI CÆRELLIÆ. Of Cicero's debt to the learned Cærellia we have heard before (see *ad Att.* xii. 51: vol. iii., p. 257). We know that a certain Tullius Montanus owed Cicero money (see pp. 32, 96). This arrangement of the text is very uncertain, but it is necessary to risk something. The temple or chapel of Strenia was at one end of the *via sacra*, near the site of what was afterwards the Colosseum.

¹ *Prosequitur*, the MS. reading. It is the usual word in this connection. Editors change it to *persequitur* because Sestius didn't accompany Cicero: wrongly, as I think. Cicero uses the word as expressing his intention, as though he had really done it—"he is by way of escorting me."

I am much moved at your having wept after parting from me. If you had done so in my presence, I should perhaps have entirely abandoned my design of going abroad. But it was a great thing that you were consoled by the hope of a speedy reunion. That, indeed, is the hope that supports me more than anything else. You shall not want letters from me. I will write you a full account of Brutus. I will before long send you a book of mine "On Glory." I will hammer out something in the vein of Heracleides¹ to be treasured up in your secret stores. I haven't forgotten about Plancus. Attica has a good right to grumble. I am much obliged for your informing me about Bacchis and the garlands for the statues.² Do not omit anything hereafter, I don't say of so much importance, but even of so little. I won't forget about either Herodes or Mettius,³ or anything else which I have the least idea of your wishing. What a scandalous person your sister's son is!⁴ As I am writing this he arrives at the witching hour of evening while I am at dinner. Take care of your health.

DCCLXII (A XV, 28)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 3 JULY

As I wrote to you yesterday I have settled to arrive at Puteoli on the 7th. There then I shall look for a letter from you daily, and especially about the games, about which you must also write to Brutus. I have a letter from him which I could scarcely make out, of which I sent you a copy yesterday. Pray make my excuses to Attica, and take

¹ For Heracleides of Pontus, see p. 56.

² At the games of Brutus. Bacchis is an actress.

³ Herodes was a tutor of young Cicero at Athens. We know nothing of Mettius, but he doubtless was at Athens also, and Atticus had sent some message to them both.

⁴ The younger Quintus.

all the blame upon yourself. Assure her all the same that I am taking away with me an affection for her that has undergone no change.¹

DCCLXIII (A XVI, 16)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, BEFORE THE 6TH OF JULY

I HAVE read your most delightful letter. I have written and despatched one to Plancus. I shall learn from Tiro himself what Plancus said to him. You will be able to give closer attention to the negotiation with your sister² now that you have obtained a relaxation of that other engrossing business of yours.³

DCCLXIV (A XVI, 16 a)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (AT ROME)

(ARPINUM BEFORE 6TH OF JULY)

MARCUS CICERO greets Lucius Munatius Plancus, prætor-designate. I know you are fond of our friend Atticus, while for my society you show so much taste that upon my word I think I have few friends so attentive and affectionate. For to our ancestral ties—so close, old, and legitimate—a great additional force has been added by your personal kind feel-

¹ We don't know how Cicero had offended Attica, unless she had seen the strange letter about her written to her father in the previous year. See vol. iii., p. 223.

² Probably as to her divorce from Quintus.

³ The case of the Buthrotians.

ing towards me and an equal and mutual one on my part towards you. Now you are acquainted with the case of the Buthrotians, for I have often pleaded it and clearly set it forth in your hearing. Its history is as follows. As soon as we observed that the territory of Buthrotum was declared confiscate, Atticus in great alarm drew up a petition. He put that in my hands to present to Cæsar: for I happened to be going to dine with him on that day. I presented that petition to Cæsar. He approved of the plea and wrote in answer to Atticus saying that his demand was fair. He, however, warned him that the Buthrotians must pay their arrears to the day. Atticus in his eager desire for the preservation of the state paid the money out of his own pocket. That being done I approached Cæsar, stated the Buthrotian case, and obtained a decree of the most generous nature, which was countersigned by men of the highest rank. In these circumstances I own that I used to be surprised at Cæsar allowing a number of men who had cast greedy eyes on the Buthrotian territory to hold meetings; and that he not only allowed that, but even put you at the head of the land-commission. Accordingly, on my remonstrating with him, and indeed so often that I incurred a rebuke from him for not trusting his fidelity to his word, he told both Marcus Messalla and Atticus himself not to be alarmed, and made no concealment of the fact that he did not wish—for he was fond of popularity, as you know—to hurt the feelings of those who were in possession; but since they had already crossed the sea, he would see to their being removed to some other land. This is what happened while he was alive. Well, after Cæsar's death, as soon as the consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate began hearing cases, what I have just told you was laid before them. They admitted the plea without any hesitation and said that they would send you a despatch. However, my dear Plancus, though I did not doubt that a senatorial decree, a law, and the decision and despatch of the consuls would have the greatest weight with you, and although I quite understood that you wished to please Atticus himself, yet in view of our friendship and mutual goodwill I have ventured to beg of you, what your own unique kindness and exquisite goodness of heart would be sure to obtain from you. It is that, what I feel sure you

will do of your own accord, you should out of compliment to me do with heartiness, completeness, and speed. No one is a warmer, more charming, or dearer friend than Atticus is to me. Formerly it was only his money, and that a very large sum, that was at stake: now it concerns his credit also, that he should by your assistance maintain what he had secured by the exertion of great industry and influence both in Cæsar's lifetime and after it. If I obtain this favour from you, I should wish you to consider that I shall construe your liberality as a personal benefit of the highest kind to myself. I will attend with zeal and diligence to whatever I may think is your wish or to your interest. Take care of your health.

DCCLXV (A XV, 29)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

FORMIÆ, 6 JULY

I SEND you Brutus's letter. Good heavens, what helplessness! You will understand when you have read it. About the celebration of Brutus's games I agree with you. No, don't go to see M. Ælius at his house, but speak to him wherever you may chance to meet him. About the moiety of Tullius's debt consult Marcus Axianus, as you suggest. Your arrangement with Cosianus—first rate! For your disentanglement of my own affairs and yours at the same time—thanks! I am glad my legation is approved. Heaven send that your promises are fulfilled! For what could be more gratifying to me and mine? But I feel misgiving about her, of whom you make an exception.¹ When I have met Brutus, I will send you a full account. About Plancus and Decimus, I wish it may be so!² I wouldn't have Sextus

¹ Referring probably to a promise of Atticus to meet Cicero in Greece if Attica's health permits.

² L. Munatius Plancus had troops in Transalpine Gaul, Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine—Atticus I suppose had said that they would join in resisting Antony

throw away his shield.¹ About Mundus tell me anything you learn.

So I have answered all your news. Now for my own. The younger Quintus is going to escort me as far as Puteoli—what an admirable loyalist! you might call him a Favonius-Asinius.² He has two motives for doing so: my society, and a wish to make terms with Brutus and Cassius. But what say you? For I know you are intimate with the Othones. Quintus says that Tutia offers herself to him, as a divorce has been arranged. His father asked me what sort of reputation she had. I said—for I didn't know why he asked the question—that I had never heard anything except about her looks and her father. "But why do you ask?" said I. Then he said that his son wanted her. Thereupon, though I felt disgusted, I said that I didn't believe those stories. His aim—for that is the truth—is to make our friend no allowance. But the lady says she won't be baulked by the like of him.³ However, I suspect young Quintus is, as usual, romancing. But please make inquiries—for you can easily do so—and let me know.

Pray what's this all about? When I had already sealed this letter some Formians who were dining with me told me that the day before I write this—that is, on the 5th—they had seen our Buthrotian commissioner Plancus⁴

"With downcast look and bare of ornament ;"

and that his poor slaves said that he and the land-grabbers

¹ Sextus Pompeius perhaps was said to be wavering.

² Favonius was the well-known imitator of Cato. Asinius Pollio, besides having been a Cæsarian, was now posing as more or less of a republican, though he afterwards joined Antony. He was already known as an orator and man of letters, and perhaps took "high ground" in politics. Perhaps Cicero means, "you would suppose young Quintus to take the strictly republican views of Favonius (see p. 68), with the culture of a Pollio, as he professes to value my society." But it is rather recondite.

³ *οὐ παρὰ τοῦτον*, "not along of him," but Cicero's meaning is not at all clear. We don't know whose daughter Tutia was, or to which of the Othones she was married. For Quintus's character for romancing, see p. 8.

⁴ Titus Munatius Plancus (brother of Lucius), who was at the head of the land-commissioners in Epirus. See p. 98.

had been turned out of the country by the Buthrotians. Well done they! But please write me a full account of the whole affair.

DCCLXVI (A XVI, 1)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 8 JULY

I ARRIVED at Puteoli on the 7th. I write this on the following day as I am crossing to Nesis.¹ But on the day of my arrival, as I was at dinner Eros brought me your letter. Is it really so? "*Nones of July!*"² The gods confound them! But one might rage all day long. What could be a greater insult to Brutus than "*July*"? I come back to my old—*quousque tandem?* I have never seen anything worse. But what is this, pray, about the land-grabbers being cut to pieces at Buthrotum?³ How also came Plancus to be on the run day and night—for that is whispered to me? I am very anxious to know what it means. I am glad that my going abroad is commended: I must try and get my staying at home praised also. That the Dymæans⁴ should harry the sea after being expelled from their lands is no wonder. There seems to be some protection in making the voyage in company with Brutus. But I think his vessels

¹ Nesis (mod. *Nisidia*) is a small island between Puteoli and Naples, on which Brutus or perhaps his mother (see *ad Att.* xiv. 21, p. 46) had a villa.

² The change of name of the month *Quintilis* to *Julius*, as being the month of Cæsar's birth, was voted by the senate early in this year, Dio, 44, 5; but it does not seem to have quickly come into public use, for it was re-enacted in his honour after his death, Dio, 45, 8. It probably had not been used in formal documents, and Cicero thinks it particularly bad taste to have used the word in regard to the games, for which Brutus was paying.

³ New *coloni* often found themselves roughly treated by the men dispossessed in their favour. See last letter, p. 104, and 2 *Phil.* § 100.

⁴ Some of the pirates whom Pompey had settled on lands at Dyne in Achaia, after the Piratic war of B.C. 57-56, Plut. *Pomp.* 28.

are small. However, I shall know all about it directly, and will write to you to-morrow. As to Ventidius,¹ I think it is a *canard*. As to Sextus, it is regarded as certain that he is giving in.² If this is true, we must submit to being slaves even without a civil war. What are we to say then? Is our hope in Pansa and the 1st of January? That's all moonshine, considering the drunken and drowsy habits of these men. About the 210 sester tia—capital! Let my son's accounts be put straight. For Ovius has just arrived³ and his report is much to my satisfaction: among other things it is by no means bad that seventy-two sester tia is enough, and quite liberal, but that Xeno furnishes him very sparingly and stingily. You say that your bill of exchange amounted to more than the rent of the town lots. Well, let the year in which he had the additional expense of the journey be credited with the balance. From the 1st of April next let his allowance be kept to the eighty sester tia.⁴ For the town lots now produce that amount. We must see to some settlement for him when he is back in Rome. For I don't think that he could endure that woman as a mother-in-law. About my Cuman villa I said "no" to Pindarus.

Now let me inform you of my motive for sending you a letter-carrier. Young Quintus promises me that he will be a regular Cato. But both father and son urged me to guarantee this to you, though with the understanding that you shouldn't believe it till you had practical proof of it yourself. I will give him a letter such as he desires. Don't let it influence your opinion. I am writing this to prevent your supposing that I am convinced. Heaven send that he carries out his promises!

¹ P. Ventidius Bassus, a devoted adherent of Antony, was now prætor-designate. Probably the rumour was as to his raising troops, as he did later on.

² Lepidus was negotiating with Sextus Pompeius, offering him the restitution of his father's wealth (Dio, 45, 10). It is rumoured that he is accepting. Cicero thinks that that will make Antony all-powerful. *Ad arma* in the text is wrong. Mr. Tyrrell suggests *ad Larem* (cp. p. 103). I suggest *dare manus*. If abbreviated *dar ntu*, it might be easily turned into *ad arma*.

³ From Athens.

⁴ About £640, accruing from the rents of the blocks of houses (*insulae*) which apparently formed part of Terentia's property secured to her son. His first year's expenditure had exceeded, his second year had fallen below it, and Cicero says the two are to be lumped together. Cp. p. 80.

It will be a satisfaction to everyone concerned. But I—well, I will say nothing more. He starts on the 10th. He says he is making a consignment of debts for the 15th, but that he is being very hard pressed. You will judge from my letter what answer to give him. I will write at greater length when I have seen Brutus and am sending Eros back. I quite accept my dear Attica's apology, and love her dearly. Give my kind regards to her and Pilia.

DCCLXVII (A XVI, 5)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 9 JULY

BRUTUS is anxious for a letter from you. I told him about the *Tereus* of Accius,¹ though he had heard it before. He thought that it was the *Brutus*. But, after all, some whisper of a report had reached him that at the opening of the Greek games the attendance had been small, at which for one I was not surprised. For you know my opinion of Greek games.² But now listen to what is of more importance than everything else. Young Quintus stayed with me several days, and if I had wished it would have been quite willing to stay longer. But as far as his visit went you could hardly believe how much delighted I was with him in every particular, but especially in the point in which he used most to disappoint me. For he has become such an entirely changed man—partly by certain writings of mine on which I am now engaged, and partly by my constantly talking to him and impressing my maxims upon him—that he is really going to be all that I wish in politics. After having not

¹ Some exhibition of popular feeling at the acting of Accius's tragedy of *Tereus* (see p. 105). Cicero afterwards (2 *Phil.* § 31) asserted that the populace had shewn extraordinary enthusiasm for Brutus at these games. But this was evidently not the case; and on the contrary the outbursts against the assassins seem finally to have decided them to leave Italy. See App. *B. C.* iii. 24.

² See vol. i., p. 259 (*Fam.* vii. 1).

only declared this to me, but also thoroughly convinced me of it, he implored me at great length to guarantee to you that he would in the future be worthy of you and of us. And he didn't ask you to believe this at once, but that you should only restore your affection to him when you had seen it with your own eyes. Had he not convinced me of this, and had I not made up my mind that what I am saying might be relied upon, I would not have done what I am going to tell you. I took the young man with me to see Brutus. The latter was so convinced of what I am telling you, that he took upon himself to believe in him independently, and would have none of me as guarantee. He praised him and spoke of you in the most friendly tone, and dismissed him with embraces and kisses. Wherefore, though I have more reason to congratulate you than to prefer any request to you, yet I do also request you that if there appeared to be certain irregularities in his conduct heretofore, owing to the weakness of youth, you should believe that he has now rid himself of them, and should trust me when I say that your influence will contribute much, or I should rather say more than anything else, to make his decision permanent.

Though I made frequent hints to Brutus about our sailing together, he didn't seem to catch at the suggestion as eagerly as I had expected. I thought him in an uneasy frame of mind, and indeed he was so—especially about the games. But when I had got back to my villa Gnæus Lucceius, who sees a good deal of Brutus, told me that he was hesitating a great deal as to his departure, not from any change of policy, but because he was waiting to see if anything turned up. So I am doubting whether I shall direct my steps to Venusia and there wait to hear about the legions :² and if they do not come, as some expect—go on to Hydruntum :³ but if neither port is safe—come back to

¹ This favourable report is conveyed by Quintus himself. Cicero had already warned Atticus not to believe it. See last letter, and *infra*, p. 108.

² Which Antony was bringing over from Macedonia and Epirus, where they had been stationed by Cæsar. Venusia is on the Appian road to Brundisium.

³ The nearest harbour in Calabria for Greece. Cicero had before (p. 8) said that he was going to embark there in preference to

where I am. Do you think I am joking? Upon my life you are the only tie that keeps me here. For take a careful view of the situation: but do it before I have cause to blush for my conduct. Ah! Lepidus's notice of his inauguration days is just like him, and just suits with my plan of return.¹ Your letter conveys a strong motive for my starting for Greece. And oh, that I might find you there! But it must be as you think most to your advantage. I am anxious for a letter from Nepos. Can he really want my books, when he thinks the subjects on which I plume myself not worth reading? Yes—as you say:

“in form and face
Ajax the flower of all the Grecian host
Next to the flawless son whom Thetis bore.”²

You are the “flawless” one—he is one of the “immortals.” There is no collection of my letters in existence: but Tiro has something like seventy. Moreover, there are some to be got from you. I ought to look through and correct them. They shall not be published till I have done so.³

Brundisium, at which latter Atticus warned him he might meet the legions of Antony. *Neutrum*, i.e., neither Brundisium nor Hydruntum.

¹ M. Æmilius Lepidus (the future triumvir) had taken advantage of the confusion following the murder of Cæsar to get himself elected Pontifex Maximus in his place. He had fixed his inauguration festival for the 29th of November (see p. 151), by which time Cicero meant to be back in Rome.

² *Odyssey*, xi. 469. The aptness of the quotation, of which he only gives two words (μετ' ἀμύμονα), is not very evident. He appears to mean, “Cornelius Nepos is a very eminent and even immortal writer—next of course to you in my eyes.” Nepos devoted himself to history, like Atticus, and didn't care for speculative philosophy.

³ This does not militate against the fact of the greater part of Cicero's letters being spontaneous and written with no eye to publication. A certain number of them are careful compositions, and it is a collection of such that he probably contemplated being published. He draws the distinction himself elsewhere (vol. iii., pp. 58-59).

DCCLXVIII (A XVI, 4)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 10 JULY

So, as I told you yesterday—or perhaps I should say to-day, for Quintus said he should not reach you till the second day—I went to Nesis on the 8th. Brutus was there. How hurt he was by the “Nones of July”!¹ He was really surprisingly upset. Accordingly, he said that he should write orders to advertise the beast-hunt, which is to follow the games of Apollo, as to take place on the “3rd day before the Ides of Quinctilis.” Libo came in while I was there. He said that Philo, a freedman of Pompey’s, and Hilarus, a freedman of his own, had come from Sextus Pompeius with a letter addressed to the consuls, or whatever they are called.² He read us a copy of it, to see if anything occurred to us. There were a few ill-expressed sentences: in other respects it was written with considerable dignity and without violence. The only addition we decided upon was that instead of being addressed “to the consuls” only, it should be addressed “to consuls, prætors, tribunes of the plebs, and senate,” for fear the consuls should decline to produce a letter addressed to themselves personally. They also report that Sextus has been at New Carthage with only one legion, and that on the very day on which he captured the town of Barea he received the news about Cæsar. That after the capture of the town there was great rejoicing and recovery of spirits, and people flocked to him from every side; but that he returned to the six legions which he had left in lower Spain. He also wrote to Libo saying that he cared for nothing unless he were allowed to return to his own house. The upshot of his demands was that all armies

¹ See p. 98.

² Cicero regarded the election of Antony, and of course therefore of Dolabella, as irregular, and that accordingly they were not properly to be called consuls. See 2 *Phil.* § 10.

wherever stationed should be disbanded. That is nearly all about Sextus.¹

Though I have been asking questions of everybody about the Buthrotians, I cannot find out the truth. Some say the land-grabbers were badly mauled, others that Plancus for a sum of money abandoned them and fled. So I don't see how I am to know the truth of the matter unless I get some sort of letter at once.²

The route to Brundisium, about which I was hesitating, appears now to be out of the question: for the legions are said to be arriving there. But the voyage from this place is not without its suspicion of dangers. Therefore I am making up my mind to a joint voyage. I found Brutus more advanced in his preparations than I had been told was the case. For both he and Domitius have some really good two-banked galleys; there are also some fine vessels belonging to Sestius, Bucilianus, and others. For, as to the fleet of Cassius, which is a really fine one, I don't count on that beyond the Sicilian Strait. One thing does cause me some little uneasiness—that Brutus seems to be in no great hurry. In the first place he is waiting for news as to the completion of his games; in the next place, as far as I can understand, he is likely to make the voyage slowly, stopping at several points. However, I think it is better to sail slowly than not to sail at all. And if, when we have got some distance on, things seem more certain we shall take advantage of the Etesian winds.

DCCLXIX (A XVI, 2)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 11 JULY

ON the 10th I received two letters, one from my own letter-carrier and the other from that of Brutus. The story about the

¹ For *ad Larem* see p. 99. Antony was in possession of Pompey's town house (2 *Phil.* §§ 67, 76).

² See p. 98.

Buthrotians was widely different in these parts, but that is only one of the many inconveniences with which one must put up. I am sending Eros back sooner than I intended, that there might be some one to pay Hortensius, and those in fact with whom he says that he has fixed the 15th as the day of settlement. Hortensius, however, is shameless in his demand; for nothing is due to him except in virtue of the third instalment, payable on the 1st of August—and of this very instalment the greater part has been paid him considerably before the day.¹ But Eros will see to this on the 15th. As for Publius, however, I think there ought to be no delay in paying him the amount for which a draft is due. But when you come to look at the concessions I have made from my legal rights in having paid in ready money 200 of the balance of 400 sesteria, and in now giving a note for the remainder, you will be able, if you think right, to say to him that he ought to wait my convenience in consideration of my having surrendered such a considerable proportion of my legal right. But, my very dear Atticus—you see how insinuatingly I put it—do pray transact, direct, and steer all my business without waiting for directions from me. For though my balances are sufficient for the discharge of debts, still it often happens that debtors don't come up to time. If anything of that sort occurs, don't regard anything as of more importance than my reputation. Preserve my credit not only by raising a fresh loan, but even by selling if necessary. Brutus was gratified by your letter. For I spent several hours with him at Nesis shortly after having received your letter. He seemed delighted with your account of the *Tereus*,³ and to be more obliged to Accius than to Antony. In my eyes, however, the better the news the more annoyance and regret

¹ This seems to refer to the inheritance of Cluvius (see vol. iii., p. 328). Cicero purchased the *horti* from his co-heirs, and the money was to be paid in three instalments, the last on 1st August (see p. 111). In the former of these passages Hordeonius is mentioned as one of the co-heirs, but there is no reason as far as we know against Hortensius being another. Of him we know nothing. He may be the Hortensius with whom Cicero has had many transactions before (see *ad Att.* xii. 5 : vol. iii., p. 271).

² Brother of Cicero's second divorced wife, who was to receive back her dowry.

³ See *ante*, p. 100.

I feel that the Roman people uses up its hands in clapping, rather than in defending the constitution. To my mind, indeed, that party appears to be even more inspired to give an immediate display of their own disloyalty. However, "so that they feel a pang, no matter what." I am not sorry to hear your remark about my designs being daily more commended, and I was looking forward to hear what you had to say about it. For I myself was hearing remarks made in different senses. Nay, more, I was letting it drag on expressly to avoid committing myself as long as possible. But since I am being turned out with a pitchfork, I am now thinking of going to Brundisium. For the avoidance of the legions¹ is easier and more certain than that of the pirates, who are said to be shewing themselves. Sestius was expected on the 10th, but he has not come, as far as I know. Cassius has arrived with his little fleet. On the 11th, after having seen him, I am thinking of going to Pompeii and thence to Æculanum.² You know the rest of the road. As to Tutia³—that's what I thought. About Æbutius, I don't believe it, but I do not care any more than you do. I have written of course to Plancus and Oppius, since you asked me to do so. But don't think it necessary to deliver the letters, if you consider it better not. For as they have acted entirely from consideration for you, I fear my letters may appear superfluous—at any rate to Oppius, whom I know to be devotedly attached to you. However, just as you choose. As you say that you mean to winter in Epirus, I shall be very grateful if you arrive there before the time comes at which by your advice I am to return to Italy. Write to me as often as possible: if it is on matters of little importance, employ any messenger you get hold of; but if it is more urgent, send one of your own men. If I get safe to Brundisium, I shall attempt something in the vein of Heracleides.⁴ I am sending you my *de Gloria*. You will therefore please to keep it under lock and key as usual: but

¹ The legions being brought from Macedonia by Antony. See *ante*, p. 104.

² On the road to Brundisium. See vol. ii., p. 217.

³ Whom young Quintus declared ready to marry him. See p. 97.

⁴ That is, some political treatise like that of Heracleides Ponticus "On Constitutions." See *ante*, pp. 56, 93.

let select passages be marked for Salvius at least to read when he has got some fitting hearers at a dinner party. I like them much; I should wish you to do the same. Good-bye! Good-bye!

DCCLXX (A XVI, 3)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

POMPEII, 17 JULY

You acted wisely—I am now at length answering the letter you sent me after meeting Lucius Antonius at Tibur—well then, you acted wisely in surrendering and even going so far as to thank him. For certainly, as you say, we shall be stripped of the constitution sooner than of our property. Your saying that you take more and more delight in my essay on Old Age increases my energy in writing. You say that you are expecting Eros not to come to you empty-handed. I am glad that you were not disappointed in that expectation: but nevertheless I am sending you the same essay somewhat more carefully revised—and it is indeed the original copy itself, with interlineations and corrections in many places.¹ Get this copied on large paper² and read it privately to your guests, but, as you love me, when they are cheerful and have had a good dinner, lest they vent their wrath on me, though really angry with you.³

With my son I only hope things are as I am told. About Xeno⁴ I shall learn when I see him: however, I don't think he has acted in any way with carelessness or meanness. About Herodes I will do as you charge me, and I shall get information as to what you mention from Saufeius and Xeno.

¹ For Cicero's habit of writing in corrections and additions in his MSS. see vol. iii., p. 314. He is referring to the *de Gloria*. See p. 106.

² See *ad Att.* xiii. 25: vol. iii., p. 207.

³ There is a touch of malice in Cicero's jest, for Atticus was not famous for good dinners. See vol. ii., p. 139.

⁴ About his stinginess to young Cicero. See p. 99.

As to young Quintus, I am glad that you got my letter sent by my letter-carrier before the one delivered by himself—though in any case you would not have been taken in. Yet, after all—well, I am anxious to hear what he said to you and what you said in your turn: I don't doubt you both spoke characteristically.¹ But I hope Curius will deliver that letter to me. He is in himself indeed an attractive person and a man I like, but now he will have the crowning grace of your recommendation.

I have answered your letter sufficiently. Now listen to what, though I know it is not necessary to write, I yet am going to write. Many things distress me in my departure—first and foremost, by heaven, that I am being separated from you. But I am also distressed by the fatigue of the voyage, so unsuitable not only to my time of life, but also to my rank. Moreover, the time of my departure is rather ridiculous. I am leaving peace to return to war; and the season which might have been spent in my favourite country places—so prettily built and so full of charm—I am wasting on a foreign tour. The consolations are that I shall either do my son some good, or make up my mind how much good he is capable of receiving. In the next place you will—as I hope and as you promise—presently be there. If that happens indeed things will be better all round. But what gives me more uneasiness than anything is the making up of my balances. Though they have been put straight, yet since Dolabella's debt is on the list, and among the debtors assigned to me are some unknown persons, I feel quite at sea, and this matter gives me more uneasiness than everything else. Accordingly, I don't think I have been wrong to write to Balbus more openly than usual, to ask him that, if it should so happen that the debts did not come in at the proper time, he should come to the rescue; and telling him that I had commissioned you, in case of such an occurrence, to communicate with him. Please do so, if you think proper, and all the more if you are starting for Epirus.

I write this when on the point of embarking from my Pompeian house with three ten-oared pinnaces. Brutus is

¹ Atticus's characteristic was silence (see vol. iii., p. 348: *ad Att.* xiii. 42). Quintus, as we see, was voluble and given to romancing. See pp. 81, 97. For the letters referred to see pp. 98-101.

still at Nesis, Cassius at Naples. Can you love Deiotarus and yet dislike Hieras? When Blesamius came to me about it, though he was charged not to take any step except on the advice of our friend Sextus Peducæus, he never communicated with him or with any one of our party.¹ I should like to kiss our dear Attica, far off as she is, so delighted was I with the good wishes she sent me by you. Please give her mine in return and many of them, and the same to Pilia.

DCCLXXI (F VII, 20)

TO GAIUS TREBATIUS (AT ROME)

VELIA, 20 JULY

VELIA seemed to me the more charming because I perceived that you were popular there. But why name you, who are a universal favourite? Even your friend Rufio, upon my word, was as much in request as though he had been one of us. But I don't blame you for having taken him away to superintend your building operations; for although Velia is as valuable as the Luperca, yet I would rather be where you are than own all your property here. If you will listen to me, as you usually do, you will keep this paternal estate—for the Velians seemed a little afraid that you wouldn't—and will not abandon that noble stream, the Hales, nor desert the Papirian mansion—though that other has a famous lotus

¹ This refers to a transaction of Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, whom Cicero in B.C. 45 had defended before Cæsar on a charge of having tried to murder the latter in B.C. 47. He had been deprived of the greater part of his dominions in Armenia, but by promising an enormous bribe to Fulvia, or to Antony himself, his agents had induced Antony to assert that among the minutes left by Cæsar was one granting him restoration. He appears, however, on learning of Cæsar's death, to have taken the law into his own hands and seized the territories. Hieras and Blesamius are his agents in Rome, who had managed the transaction. And Deiotarus, having got what he wanted, would probably disavow them. See *ante*, p. 20; and 2 *Phil.* §§ 95, 96.

which attracts even foreign visitors, but which would after all much improve your view if it were cut down. But, above all, it seems a most desirable thing, especially in such times as these, to have as a refuge in the first place a town whose citizens are attached to you, and in the second place a house and lands of your own, and that in a retired, healthy, and picturesque spot. And this, my dear Trebatius, is to my interest also, I think. But keep well and see to my affairs, and expect me home D.V. before the winter. I carried off from Sextus Fadius, Nico's pupil, the essay of Nico's "On Over-eating." What a pleasant doctor! And what a ready scholar am I in such a school as that! But our friend Bassus¹ kept me in the dark about that book: not so you, it seems. The wind is rising. Take care of yourself.

Velia, 20th July.

DCCLXXII (A XVI, 6)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

VIBO, 25 JULY

As yet—for I have got as far as Sicca's house at Vibo—I have prosecuted my voyage with more comfort than energy. For the greater part has been done by rowing, and there have been no nor'-nor'-easters. That has been rather lucky, for there were two bays to be crossed, that of Pæstum and that of Vibo. We crossed both with sheets taut. I arrived at Sicca's house therefore on the eighth day from Pompeii, having rested one day at Velia. There I stayed at our friend Talna's house, and couldn't possibly have been received more hospitably—especially as Talna himself was away from home. So on the 24th I went to Sicca's house. There I found myself quite at home. So I put on an extra day to my visit. But I think when I reach Rhegium I shall consider—being

¹ See vol. iii., p. 89.

“On long and weary sea voyage bent”¹—

whether to make for Patræ on a merchant vessel or to go as far as Tarentine Leucopetra on packet-boats, and thence to Corcyra: and if on the ship of burden, whether to go from the strait direct or from Syracuse.² On this point I will write to you from Rhegium. By heaven, Atticus, it often occurs to me to ask:

“What boots it you to journey hither thus?”³

Why am I not with you? Why do I not see my pretty villas—those sweet eyes of Italy? But it is enough and to spare that I am losing you. And from what am I running away? Is it danger? But of that at the present moment, if I do not mistake, there is none. For it is precisely to that which you use your influence to bid me return. For you say that my quitting the country is praised to the skies, but only on the understanding that I return before the 1st of January. That I shall certainly try to do; for I had rather be at home even in fear, than at Athens without it. But look out to see to what things at Romé are tending, and either write me news of them or, as I should much prefer, bring it with you in person. Enough of this.

I hope you will not be annoyed at my next request, which I know is a subject of more anxiety to you than to myself: in heaven's name, set straight and clear up my debtor and creditor accounts. I have left an excellent balance, but there is need of careful attention. See that my co-heirs are paid for the Cluvian property⁴ on the 1st of August; and what terms I ought to make with Publilius. He ought not to press, as I am not taking full advantage of my legal privileges: but, after all, I much wish him also to be satisfied. Terentia, again—what am I to assign to her? Pay her even before the day if you can. But if—as I hope—you are quickly coming to Epirus, I beg you to provide before you start for what I owe on security, to put it straight and leave it fully discharged.

¹ δολιχὸν πλόον ὁρμαίνοντες (Hom. *Odyss.* iii. 169).

² He apparently went to Syracuse, but returned to Rhegium (1 *Phil.* § 7). Tarentine Leucopetra seems to be a different place from the Leucopetra near Rhegium, but it is not known.

³ See p. 70.

⁴ See p. 105.

But enough on these matters, and I fear you will think too much. Now just notice my carelessness. I have sent you a book "On Glory": but there is the same preface in it as in the third book of the Academics. That results from the fact that I keep a volume of prefaces. From it I am accustomed to select one when I have begun some treatise. So being at the time at Tusculum, as I did not remember that I had already used that preface, I put it into the book which I sent you. When, however, I was reading the Academics on board ship, I noticed my mistake. Accordingly, I have written out a new preface, and am sending it to you. Please cut the other one off and glue this on. Give my love to Pilia and Attica, my pet and darling.

DCCLXXIII (F VII, 19)

TO GAIUS TREBATIUS (AT ROME)

RHEGIUM, 28 JULY

SEE how greatly I value you: and it is no more than your due, for I do not surpass you in affection. However, what I almost refused, or at any rate did not give you, when you were with me, I could not make up my mind to continue to owe you now that you are away. Accordingly, no sooner had I begun my voyage from Velia than I set to work to translate Aristotle's *Topica*, having been reminded by the sight of a city so warmly attached to you. I send you this book from Rhegium written in as clear a style as the subject admitted. But if certain parts appear to you to be somewhat obscure, you must reflect that no art can be learnt out of books without some one to explain it and without some practical exercise in it. You will not have to go far for an instance. Can the art of you jurisconsults be learnt out of books? Though there are a great number of them, they yet require a teacher and actual practice. However, if you read this with attention and repeatedly, you will be able to grasp the whole subject by yourself—at least so far as to under-

stand it. But that such *loci communes* should at once occur to your own mind upon any question being proposed, you can only secure by practice. To this, indeed, I shall keep you, if I get home safe and find things safe at Rome.

28 July, Rhegium.

DCCLXXIV (A XVI, 16 b)

TO GNÆUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS (AT ROME)¹

JULY

I HAVE already written to request you that the cause of the Buthrotians having received the approval of the consuls, to whom authority had been given both by a law and a senatorial decree, "that they should investigate, determine, and decide on Cæsar's *acta*," you would support that decision and relieve both our friend Atticus—whom I know you to be anxious to serve—and myself, who am no less anxious than he, from all trouble. For as the whole business has been completed with much care and much labour, it now rests with you that we should be able to make as early an end as possible to our anxiety. Although I am well aware that a man of your wisdom must see that, if the decrees of the consuls which have been delivered as to Cæsar's *acta* are not observed, a most chaotic state of things will be the result. The fact is that though many of Cæsar's arrangements—as was inevitable in the multitude of his occupations—are not now thought good, I am yet accustomed to support them with the utmost vigour for the sake of peace and quietness. I think you ought by all means to do the same, though this letter is not meant to persuade but to prefer a request. Therefore, my dear Plancus, I beg and beseech you with an earnestness and a heartiness beyond which, upon my honour, I cannot plead any cause, to carry on,

¹ Prætor-designate, brother of Lucius and Titus Munatius Plancus. [Neither the exact date nor the place of writing of these letters on the tiresome Buthrotian business can be fixed.]

treat, and settle this business in such a way that what we have obtained from the consuls without any hesitation, owing to their great kindness and the justice of our cause, you will not only acquiesce, but even rejoice, in our having secured. What your disposition towards Atticus is you have often shewn him to his face, as well as myself. If you do this you will have put me—always closely allied to you by personal feeling and inherited friendship—under the greatest possible obligation. I ask you earnestly and repeatedly to do so.

DCCLXXV (A XVI, 16 c)

TO GAIUS CAPITO (IN EPIRUS)

(JULY)

I NEVER thought that I should have to come to you as a suppliant. But, by heaven, I am not sorry that an opportunity has been given me to test your affection. You know how highly I value Atticus. Pray do me this favour also: forget for my sake that he wished support given to his own friend who happened to be an opponent of yours, when that person's reputation was at stake. That you should grant this pardon is demanded by your own sense of fairness; for every man is bound to support his own friends. In the next place, if you love me—I put Atticus out of the question—let this be a concession made entirely to your Cicero, your value for whom you constantly avow, in order that I may now unmistakably understand, what I have always thought, that I am deeply loved by you.

By a decree—which I in company of many men of the highest rank countersigned—Cæsar freed the Buthrotians, and indicated to us that, since the assignees of land had crossed the sea, he would send a despatch stating into what district they were to be taken. After that, as chance would have it, he met with a sudden death. Then, as you know—for you were present when the consuls were bound by a sena-

torial decree to decide on Cæsar's *acta*—the business was deferred by them to the 1st of June. To the decree of the senate there was added a law passed on the 2nd of June, which gave the consuls power to decide on "all things appointed, decreed, done by Cæsar." The case of the Buthrotians was brought before the consuls. The decree of Cæsar was read and many other minutes of Cæsar's were also produced. The consuls by the advice of their assessors pronounced judgment in favour of the Buthrotians. They commissioned Plancus. Now, my dear Capito—as I know how much influence you always exercise over those with whom you are associated, especially over a man of the extreme good nature and kindness of Plancus—use every exertion, strain every nerve, or rather every power of fascination, to secure that Plancus, who, I hope, is likely to be very good to us, should become still better by your means. In any case the facts are of such a nature, in my opinion, that without anyone's influence Plancus, considering his character and practical wisdom, is himself not likely to hesitate in supporting a decision of the consuls, to whom by a law as well as a senatorial decree the inquiry into and decision of the matter has been committed. More especially so as—if this kind of judicial investigation is discredited—the *acta* of Cæsar seem likely to be called in question, the maintenance of which is desired not only by those whose personal interests are concerned, but for the sake of peace by those also who do not approve of them. This being the case, it is yet to our interest that Plancus should act with a ready and obliging disposition. And he will certainly do so, if you display that *fortiter in re* of which I have had frequent examples, and that *suaviter in modo* in which no one is your equal. I earnestly beg you to do so.

DCCLXXVI (A XVI, 16 d)

TO GAIUS CUPIENNIUS

(JULY)

I VALUED your father very highly, and he also shewed me remarkable attention and affection, nor, by heaven, had I ever any doubt of your affection for me. For my part I have never ceased feeling it for you. Therefore I beg you with more than common earnestness to help in relieving the state of Buthrotum; and take pains to induce our friend Plancus at the earliest opportunity to ratify and approve the decree of the consuls which they made in favour of the Buthrotians, since they had the power of settling the matter both by a law and a senatorial decree. I beg you, my dear Cupiennius, earnestly and repeatedly to do so.

DCCLXXVII (A XVI, 16 e)

TO GNÆUS MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN EPIRUS)

(JULY)

CICERO to Plancus, prætor-designate. Pardon me for writing to you frequently on the same subject, in spite of having already written on it with the greatest minuteness. I do not do so, my dear Plancus, from distrust of your right feeling or of our friendship. The reason is the great amount of property¹ of our friend Atticus—and now of his credit also—involvement in his being proved able to maintain a measure ratified by Cæsar, witnessed and countersigned by ourselves as being present at the execution of Cæsar's decrees and

¹ Because he had paid their arrears to the treasury (see p. 95), which he would not be able to recover if they were dispossessed.

answers to petitions. And I appeal especially to you, because the whole control over that business is in your hands, I don't say to approve, but to approve with zeal and cheerfulness of what the consuls have decreed in virtue of Cæsar's decrees and promises. It is impossible for me to be more grateful for anything than I shall be for that. But although I hope that by the time you receive this letter what I asked of you in my previous letter will have been granted, yet I will not make an end of asking until I have received intelligence of your having actually done what I am looking forward to with strong hope. Further, I feel confident of being able to employ a different style of letter, and to thank you for an instance of your extreme kindness. If that comes to pass I would have you think that it is not so much Atticus—whose interests at stake are very large—as myself, who am equally anxious, that will be under an obligation to you.

DCCLXXVIII (A XVI, 16 f)

TO GAIUS CAPITO (IN EPIRUS)

(JULY)

I DO not doubt that you are wondering and even feeling annoyed at my frequently pressing you on the same topic. Atticus—my most intimate friend and in every respect most closely united with me—has a very great interest at stake. I know how ready you are to serve your friends, and how ready your friends are to serve you. I know the kindness of your heart. I know how charming you are to your friends. Now no one can help us in this business more than you. The thing itself also is as certain as that ought to be which the consuls have decided on the advice of their assessors, after investigating it on the authority of a law and a decree of the senate. Still we regard everything as depending on the liberality of your friend Plancus: whom indeed I consider certain to confirm a consular decision, both as a private

duty and in loyalty to the constitution, and also to do so cheerfully for my sake. Give us your assistance, therefore, my dear Capito: I earnestly and repeatedly beg you to do so.

DCCLXXIX (F XI, 3)

M. BRUTUS AND C. CASSIUS TO M. ANTONIUS
THE CONSUL

NAPLES, 4 AUGUST

IF you are well, we are glad. We have perused a letter from you very closely corresponding to your edict—insulting, threatening, and not at all such as should have been addressed to us by you. We have not, Antonius, used any words of insult to you, nor did we suppose that you would be surprised if as prætors and men of such rank we had demanded in an edict something of a consul. But if you feel indignation at our having ventured to do so, at least allow us to feel aggrieved that even this much is refused by you to a Brutus and a Cassius. For as to the holding of levies and demanding money contributions, tampering with armies and sending couriers across sea—of which you say that you have not complained—we of course believe that your action has been dictated by the best motives. Nevertheless, we do not acknowledge any one of these allegations, and we feel surprised that, after restraining your tongue on these matters, you have not been able to refrain from taunting us in your anger with the death of Cæsar. Rather consider yourself how intolerable it is that prætors are not allowed for the sake of peace and liberty to announce in an edict that they waive their rights, without the consul threatening them with armed violence. By relying on arms you cannot daunt us: for it is neither right nor fitting for us to allow our courage to be overborne by any danger, nor ought Antonius to expect to tyrannize over those by whose action he is a free man. If other con-

siderations impelled us to wish for a civil war, your letter would not have had any effect upon the question : for words of menace have no weight with free men. But you know full well that we cannot be driven in any direction, and perhaps you use menaces in that matter to give what is the result of our deliberate judgment the appearance of fear. Our feeling is that, while we desire you to have a great and honourable position in a free state, and do not challenge you to any quarrel, we yet value our liberty higher than your friendship. Consider again and again what you are taking upon yourself, what you are capable of maintaining, and be careful to consider not how long Cæsar lived, but how long he reigned. We pray the gods that your designs may be for the safety of the Republic ; if not, we hope that they may damage yourself as little as is consistent with its safety and honour.

4 August.

DCCLXXX (A XVI, 7)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ON BOARD SHIP, 19 AUGUST

HAVING started on the 6th of August from Leucopetra—for that was to be my port of embarkation—when I had made about 300 furlongs,¹ I was driven back upon that same Leucopetra by a violent south wind. While waiting there for a change of wind—I was staying in the villa of our friend Valerius, where I am quite at home and comfortable—certain men of high rank from Rhegium came thither, having lately returned from Rome, among others a friend of our Brutus, who (as he told me) had left Brutus at Naples. They brought, first, an edict of Brutus and Cassius ; secondly, intelligence that there would be a full meeting of

¹ In 1 *Phil.* § 7 he says that he got as far as Syracuse, and then returned to Leucopetra as the winds were not favourable, preferring to wait at the latter place, and then was driven back on a second attempt to start.

the senate on the 1st, and that a despatch had been sent by Brutus and Cassius to all ex-consuls and ex-prætors asking them to be present. They announced also that there was a great hope of Antony yielding, an arrangement being come to, and our partisans returning to Rome. They added also that I was wanted, and that my absence was being somewhat unfavourably criticised. On hearing these news I without hesitation threw aside my design of leaving the country, which, by heaven! I had never really liked. When, however, I read your letter, I was of course surprised that you had so entirely changed your opinion, but I thought that you must have some good reason for it. However, though you had never advised nor urged my leaving the country, you had at least expressed approval of my doing so, provided that I returned to Rome by the 1st of January. The result of that would have been that I should have been abroad as long as the danger seemed less imminent, but have returned to find everything in a blaze. But this advice, however short-sighted, I have no claim to resent; because in the first place what I did was in accordance with my own opinion; and in the second place, even if it were adopted on your suggestion, for what is an adviser responsible except good faith? It is the following expression of yours at which I cannot sufficiently wonder: "Can you with honour, you who talk of a *noble death*—can you with honour abandon your country?" Was I abandoning it, or did I seem to you at that time to be abandoning it? Why, you not only did not forbid my doing what I was doing, but even expressed approval. Still severer is what you say afterwards: "I wish you would elaborate for me some *précis* of the reasons justifying your action." Is it really so, my dear Atticus? Does my action need a defence, and with you of all people, who expressed such strong approval of it? I of course will compose the defence which you require, but addressed to some one of those against whose wish and advice I started. Yet, what need now of a *précis*? If I had persevered, there would have been such need. "But," say you, "this very fact is an instance of vacillation." No philosopher ever yet—and there has been a great deal written upon the subject—defined a mere change of plan as vacillation. So next you say: "For if the change had been made by our friend

Phædrus,¹ your defence would have been easy. As it is, what answer are we to make?" So then my action was one which I could not justify to Cato, that is, was criminal and disgraceful—is that so? I only wish you had been of that opinion from the first! You would have been my Cato, as you ever are! But your last sentence is the most I might say exasperating: "For our friend Brutus says nothing"—that is to say, does not venture to remonstrate with a man of my age. I can't imagine what else you can mean by those words, and by heaven that is it! For on the 17th of August, on my arrival at Velia, Brutus heard of it. He was with his ships in the river Hales, three miles north of Velia. He immediately walked over to see me. Good heavens! with what transports of delight at my return, or rather at my abandonment of the journey, did he pour out all that he had repressed before! It made me recall those words of yours, "For our friend Brutus holds his tongue." But what he most regretted was that I had not been in the senate on the 1st of August. He praised Piso² to the skies, but remarked that he was delighted at my having avoided two grounds of reproach. One of these I was well aware that I was incurring by this journey—that of despairing of and abandoning the Republic. Many people remonstrated with me upon it with tears in their eyes, and I was unable to console them by promising a quick return. The other was one in regard to which Brutus and his following—and its number was large—were much pleased: I mean that I escaped the reproach of being thought to be going to attend the Olympic games. There could be nothing more unbecoming than this at any period of the Republic, but at this particular crisis it would have been entirely unjustifiable. So I am grateful to the South wind for having saved me from such a scandal. There you have the avowed motives for my turning back. They are indeed sound and weighty ones, but none could be really sounder than what you yourself said in another letter: "Take measures in case of any creditor you may have, that there is enough to pay every man his due. For owing to

¹ An Epicurean of Athens, of whom we have heard before (vol. ii., p. 28). The Epicureans advised abstention from politics, but the Stoics did not. See p. 44 (*ad Att.* xiv. 20).

² See p. 122

the fear of war the money market is wonderfully tight." I read that letter when I was in the middle of the strait, with the result that I could think of no way of making such provision, except by being on the spot to support my own credit. But enough of this, the rest when we meet. I got hold of Antony's edict from Brutus and read it, as well as our friends' splendid answer to it. But I do not clearly see the use or object of these edicts: and I am not now, as Brutus thought I ought to do, coming to Rome with a view of entering upon politics. For what can be done? Did anyone back up Piso?¹ Did he come to the house again next day himself? But after all a man of my age ought not to be far from his place of burial, as people say. But, I beseech you, what is this that I hear from Brutus? He said that you had written to say that Pilia was suffering from paralysis. I was much alarmed, although he added that you also said that you hoped she was better. I devoutly trust so! Give her my very kindest remembrances, as also to my dearest Attica.

I write this at sea on my way to my Pompeian villa.
19 August.

DCCLXXXI (F XI, 27)

TO C. MATIUS (AT ROME)

TUSCULUM (END OF AUGUST)

I HAVE not yet been able to make up my mind whether Trebatius—kind man and devoted friend of us both—brought me more pain or pleasure. The fact is that I having reached Tusculum in the evening, early next day he

¹ The speech of Piso delivered on the 1st of August was not supported by any member of the senate (see 1 *Phil.* § 10). He was Cæsar's father-in-law, and though on this occasion he seems to have pleased the opponents of Antony, he afterwards opposed his being declared a *hostis* (App. *B.C.* iii. 54).

called on me, though he was not fully recovered. I scolded him for not being sufficiently considerate of his weak health : but he said that nothing had been more wearisome to him than waiting to see me. "Nothing fresh happened, has there?" said I. Then he told me of your grievance. But before I answer it I will put before you a few facts. As far back as I can remember I have no older friend than yourself. But after all the length of a friendship is something in which many others share. Not so warmth of affection. I became attached to you the first day I knew you, and formed the opinion that you were attached to me. After that your absence—which was a very prolonged one—my own official career, and the different line we took in life did not allow our inclinations to be cemented by a constant intercourse. Nevertheless, I had proof of your affection for me many years before the civil war, when Cæsar was in Gaul. For you secured what you were strongly of opinion was to my advantage and not without advantage to Cæsar himself—that the latter should like me, pay me attention, and rate me among his friends. I pass over instances in those times of words, letters, and various communications of the most friendly character passing between us. For a more dangerous crisis followed: and at the beginning of the civil war, when you were on your way to Brundisium to join Cæsar, you came to call on me at Formiæ. How much that implies in itself, to begin with, especially at such a crisis! And in the next place, do you suppose that I have forgotten your advice, conversation, and kindly interest? And in these I remember that Trebatius took part.¹ Nor, again, have I forgotten the letter you sent me after you had met Cæsar in the district, if I remember rightly, of Trebula.² Then followed the period in which whether you call it shame or duty or fortune compelled me to go abroad to join Pompey. What service or zeal was wanting on your part, either towards myself when away from town, or my family, who were still there? Whom did all my family regard as more warmly attached either to me or to themselves?

¹ For a joint letter from Matius and Trebatius acquainting Cicero with Cæsar's movements in B.C. 49, see vol. ii., p. 350.

² Vol. ii., p. 5.

I came to Brundisium :¹ do you suppose that I have forgotten with what speed you flew to me from Tarentum, as soon as you heard of it? Or, of how patiently you sat by my side, talked to me, and strengthened my courage, which had been broken by the dread of the universal ruin? At length our residence at Rome began : could anything be more intimate than we were? In questions of the first importance I consulted you as to my attitude towards Cæsar, and in other matters availed myself of your good offices. Setting Cæsar aside, whom else but me did you so far distinguish as to visit constantly at home, where you often spent many hours in the most delightful conversation? And it was then too, if you remember, that you instigated me to write these philosophical works. After Cæsar's return, was there any object dearer to you than that I should be on the terms of closest friendship with him? And this you had accomplished.

To what end, therefore, is this preamble which has run to greater length than I anticipated? Why, to explain my surprise that you, who were bound to have known all this, should have believed me capable of having done anything incompatible with our friendship. For besides these facts, which are well attested and as clear as the day, I could mention many others of a more secret nature, such as I can hardly express in words. Everything about you gives me pleasure : but above all your surpassing fidelity in friendship, the prudence, trustworthiness and consistency of your character, as well as the charm of your manners, the cultivation of your intellect, and your knowledge of literature.

This being understood, I return to your statement of grievance. That you voted for that law² I at first refused to believe. In the next place, if I had believed it, I should never have believed that you did so without some sound reason. Your rank makes it inevitable that whatever you do should be noticed : while the ill-nature of the world causes certain things to be represented in a harsher light

¹ That is, after Pharsalia, at the beginning of November, B.C. 48. See vol. iii., p. 11.

² We have no certain indication of what law is meant. It may mean the law which gave Antony Gallia Cisalpina and the Macedonian legions

than your actions have really warranted. If you never hear such observations I don't know what to say. For my part, whenever I hear them I defend you, as I know that I am always defended by you against my detractors. Now my line of defence is twofold. There are some statements which I meet with a blank denial, as about that very vote of yours. Others I defend on the ground of the loyalty and kindness of your motives, as in regard to the superintendence of the games.¹ But it does not escape a mind so highly cultivated as yours that, if Cæsar was a tyrant—as I think he was—two opposite theories are capable of being maintained in regard to your services. One is mine—when I hold that your loyalty and kindness are to be commended for shewing affection to a friend, even after his death. The opposite theory, advanced by some, is that the liberty of our country is to be preferred to the life of a friend. From such discussions as these I only wish that the arguments I have advanced had come to your ears! Two other points, which above everything else redound to you reputation, no one could put oftener and with more satisfaction than I do: that your voice was the strongest both against beginning the civil war, and for moderation in victory. And in this I have never found anyone who did not agree with me. Therefore I am grateful to our friend Trebatius for giving me an excuse for writing this letter. And if you do not believe in it, you will thereby condemn me as wanting in duty and good feeling: than which nothing can be more discreditable to me or more foreign to your own character.

DCCLXXXII (F XI, 28)

C. MATIUS TO CICERO (AT TUSCULUM)

ROME (AUGUST)

YOUR letter gave me great pleasure by convincing me that your opinion of me was what I had hoped and wished that

¹ See p. 52.

it should be. And although I had no doubt about that, yet, as I valued it very highly, I was anxious that it should remain intact. I was, moreover, conscious in my own mind of having done nothing calculated to wound the feelings of any good man. Therefore I was all the less inclined to believe that a man of your many splendid qualities could be induced to adopt any opinion inconsiderately, especially as my good feeling towards you had always been, and still was, heartfelt and uninterrupted. As then I know this to be as I wished it to be, I will now answer the charges, which—as was natural from your unparalleled kindness and our friendship—you have often rebutted in my behalf.

Now I am well acquainted with the allegations made against me since Cæsar's death. People blame me for shewing grief at the death of a dear friend, and expressing my indignation that the man whom I loved had been killed. For they say that country should be preferred to friendship, as though they had actually proved that his death has been beneficial to the Republic. Well, I will speak frankly. I confess that I have not attained to that height of philosophy. For in the political controversy it was Cæsar that I followed, but it was a friend whom—though disapproving of what was being done—I yet refused to desert. Nor did I ever approve of a civil war, nor of the motive of the quarrel, which in fact I strove my utmost to have nipped in the bud. Accordingly, when my friend was victorious I was not fascinated by the charm either of promotion or of money—rewards upon which others, though less influential with him than I was, seized with such intemperate avidity. In fact, even my own personal property was curtailed by the law of Cæsar,¹ thanks to which most of those who now exult in Cæsar's death maintained their position in the state. I was as anxious that conquered citizens should be spared as I was for my own safety. Wishing therefore the preservation of all, could

¹ There were two financial laws of Cæsar's, one in B.C. 49, which provided for the payment of loans—minus interest—by transferring property at a valuation, and regulated the proportion of money to be invested in Italian land (App. *B. C.* iii. 48; Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 1; Dio, 41, 38); and a second of B.C. 47, remitting certain proportions of house and land rent in Rome and Italy (Dio, 42, 51; Suet. *Jul.* 38). Matius may be referring to either or both. He lost by them, being an investor rather than a borrower of money. See vol. iii., pp. 93, 98.

I fail to be indignant that the man by whose means that preservation had been secured had perished? Especially when the very same men had caused both the feeling against him and the death which befell him. "Well then," say they, "you are assailed for venturing to shew your disapprobation of our deed." What unheard-of tyranny! One party are to boast of a crime, others are not to be allowed even to grieve at it with impunity! Why, even slaves have always been free to fear, to rejoice, and to grieve at their own will rather than at the behest of another—emotions of which, to judge from the frequent remarks of your champions of liberty, they are now endeavouring to deprive us by force. But they are throwing away their labour. I shall never be deterred from duty and humanity by the threats of any danger. For I have convinced myself that an honourable death is never to be shunned, is often even to be sought. But why are they angry with me for wishing them to repent of what they have done? For I desire Cæsar's death to be regretted by *all*. "But," say they, "I ought as a citizen to desire the safety of the Republic." If my past life and future hopes do not prove me—without my saying a word—to desire that, I do not expect to convince them by anything I can say. Therefore I ask you with more than usual earnestness to regard facts as more convincing than words; and if you think it good for the world that right should prevail, to believe that I can have nothing in common with criminals. The principles which I maintained as a young man, when I might have had some excuse for going wrong, am I now that my life is drawing to its close entirely to change, and with my own lips to give the lie to my whole career? I will not do so! Yet I will not act in a way to cause offence farther than by avowing my grief at the hard fate of one so deeply loved, and a man of such extraordinary distinction. But if I were otherwise disposed I would never deny what I was doing, lest I should get the reputation of being at once unscrupulous in committing crime, and timid and false in disavowing it.

"But," say they, "I superintended the games given by the young Cæsar in honour of Cæsar's victory." That is a matter of private obligation with no constitutional significance. Yet, after all, a service which I was bound to

render to the memory of a dear friend even after his death, I could not refuse to the request of a young man of very great promise and in the highest degree worthy of Cæsar.

I have also frequently been to the house of the consul Antonius to pay my respects. Yes, and those who now regard me as unpatriotic you will find going there in crowds to prefer some petition or to pocket some bounty. But what insolence is this that, whereas Cæsar never interfered with my being intimate with whom I chose, even with those whom he personally disliked, these men who have torn my friend from me should now endeavour by their captious remarks to prevent my loving whom I choose? But I have no fear either of the regularity of my life not being sufficient to protect me hereafter, or of those very men who hate me for my constancy to Cæsar not preferring to have friends like me rather than like themselves. For myself, if I get what I like, I shall spend the remainder of my life in retirement at Rhodes: but if some accident intervenes, though I am at Rome I shall always desire the right to prevail. I am very much obliged to our friend Trebatius, for having shewn me your true-hearted and affectionate feeling towards myself, and for having given me additional reasons for being still more bound to cultivate and respect a man for whom I have always felt a spontaneous affection. Good-bye, and do not cease to love me.

DCCLXXXIII (F XVI, 21)

M. CICERO (THE YOUNGER) TO TIRO

ATHENS (AUGUST)

AFTER I had been anxiously expecting letter-carriers day after day, at length they arrived forty-six days after they left you.¹ Their arrival was most welcome to me: for while I

¹ This was slow travelling. Cicero speaks of twenty-one days being very rapid travelling for a letter-carrier from Rome to Athens (vol. ii., p. 201), but more than double of that implies bad weather or very leisurely movements.

took the greatest possible pleasure in the letter of the kindest and most beloved of fathers, still your most delightful letter put a finishing stroke to my joy. So I no longer repent of having suspended writing for a time, but am rather rejoiced at it; for I have reaped a great reward in your kindness from my pen having been silent. I am therefore exceedingly glad that you have unhesitatingly accepted my excuse. I am sure, dearest Tiro, that the reports about me which reach you answer your best wishes and hopes. I will make them good, and will do my best that this belief in me, which day by day becomes more and more *en évidence*, shall be doubled. Wherefore you may with confidence and assurance fulfil your promise of being the trumpeter of my reputation. For the errors of my youth have caused me so much remorse and suffering, that not only does my heart shrink from what I did, my very ears abhor the mention of it. And of this anguish and sorrow I know and am assured that you have taken your share. And I don't wonder at it! for while you wished me all success for my sake, you did so also for your own; for I have ever meant you to be my partner in all my good fortunes. Since, therefore, you have suffered sorrow through me, I will now take care that through me your joy shall be doubled. Let me assure you that my very close attachment to Cratippus is that of a son rather than a pupil: for though I enjoy his lectures, I am also specially charmed with his delightful manners. I spend whole days with him, and often part of the night: for I induce him to dine with me as often as possible. This intimacy having been established, he often drops in upon us unexpectedly while we are at dinner, and laying aside the stiff airs of a philosopher joins in our jests with the greatest possible freedom. He is such a man—so delightful, so distinguished—that you should take pains to make his acquaintance at the earliest possible opportunity. I need hardly mention Bruttius, whom I never allow to leave my side. He is a man of a strict and moral life, as well as being the most delightful company. For in him fun is not divorced from literature and the daily philosophical inquiries which we make in common. I have hired a residence next door to him, and as far as I can with my poor pittance I subsidize his narrow means. Farthermore, I have begun

practising declamation in Greek with Cassius ; in Latin I like having my practice with Bruttius. My intimate friends and daily company are those whom Cratippus brought with him from Mitylene—good scholars, of whom he has the highest opinion. I also see a great deal of Epicrates, the leading man at Athens, and Leonides, and other men of that sort. So now you know how I am going on.

You remark in your letter on the character of Gorgias. The fact is, I found him very useful in my daily practice of declamation ; but I subordinated everything to obeying my father's injunctions, for he had written ordering me to give him up at once. I wouldn't shilly-shally about the business, for fear my making a fuss should cause my father to harbour some suspicion. Moreover, it occurred to me that it would be offensive for me to express an opinion on a decision of my father's. However, your interest and advice are welcome and acceptable. Your apology for lack of time I quite accept ; for I know how busy you always are. I am very glad that you have bought an estate, and you have my best wishes for the success of your purchase. Don't be surprised at my congratulations coming in at this point in my letter, for it was at the corresponding point in yours that you told me of your purchase. You are a man of property ! You must drop your city manners : you have become a Roman country-gentleman. How clearly I have your dearest face before my eyes at this moment ! For I seem to see you buying things for the farm, talking to your bailiff, saving the seeds at dessert in the corner of your cloak. But as to the matter of money, I am as sorry as you that I was not on the spot to help you. But do not doubt, my dear Tiro, of my assisting you in the future, if fortune does but stand by me ; especially as I know that this estate has been purchased for our joint advantage. As to my commissions about which you are taking trouble—many thanks ! But I beg you to send me a secretary at the earliest opportunity—if possible a Greek ; for he will save me a great deal of trouble in copying out notes. Above all, take care of your health, that we may have some literary talk together hereafter. I commend Anteros to you.¹

¹ This amusing letter from young Cicero gives a curious picture of

DCCLXXXIV (F X, 1)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GALLIA
COMATA¹)ROME² (SEPTEMBER)

IN the first place I have been out of town intending to embark for Greece: and in the next place, having been recalled by the voice of the Republic from the very midst of my journey, I have never been let alone by Marcus Antonius, whose—I won't call it insolence, for that is a mere everyday fault—but whose brutal tyranny is such that he cannot endure not only any man's voice, but even any man's look to be free. Therefore I am exceedingly anxious—not about my life indeed, for I have nothing left to do for that, whether you regard my age or my achievements or (if that, too, is to the purpose) my glory—but it is for my country that I am uneasy, and first and foremost about the time that we have to wait for your consulship, my dear Plancus,³ which is so long that one scarcely ventures to hope to be able to keep

undergraduate life at Athens. It, however, labours under the disadvantage of being a report sent home by the young man himself rather than by his tutors—an arrangement that would suit many students in all universities. The account of his reformation is therefore perhaps a little too rosy.

¹ That is, Transalpine Gaul, with the exception of “the Province”—the south-eastern part, called also Gallia Narbonensis. This latter was being held by Lepidus along with Hispania Citerior; while Pollio held Hispania Ulterior. Decimus Brutus is holding Gallia Cisalpina, from which Antony—having got himself named to it by a *lex*—is determined to oust him. These provincial arrangements must be remembered in following the remainder of the correspondence.

² Cicero after giving up his voyage to Greece returned to Rome, which he reached on the 31st of August. On the 1st of September he absented himself from the senate, because Antony was to propose certain votes in honour of Cæsar's memory. Antony therefore used some violent language about him, which Cicero answered next day—2nd September—in the speech known as the *First Philippic*.

³ Among the arrangements of Cæsar was the nomination of Plancus to the consulship of B.C. 42.

alive up to that point in the history of the Republic. For what hope can there be in a state in which everything is held down by the arms of the most violent and headstrong of men: in which neither senate nor people has any power of control: in which there are neither laws nor law courts¹—in fact, no shadow or trace even of a constitution. But as I suppose a complete gazette of public affairs is transmitted to you,² there is no reason why I should enter into details. However, the affection which I conceived for you when you were a boy, and have not only maintained but have even increased, seemed to demand that I should admonish and exhort you to devote yourself heart and soul to the service of the Republic. If it survives till your term of office, all will be plain sailing. But that it should so survive demands not only great assiduity and care on your part, but also great good fortune.

But to begin with we shall have you with us, I hope, a considerable time before that day: and in the next place—over and above the consideration which I am bound to have for the interests of the Republic—I also so completely give myself up to supporting your dignity, that I direct all the skill, zeal, devotion, exertion, labour, and attention of which I am capable to the promotion of your high position. It is thus, I am convinced, that I shall most readily do my duty both to the Republic, which I love above everything, and to our friendship, which I think it my most sacred duty to foster.

I am not surprised that our friend Furnius³ is valued by you as highly as his own kindness and worth deserve. I rejoice that it is so, and I would have you believe that whatever mark of confidence and favour you bestow on him, I regard as having been bestowed by you upon myself.

¹ Two proposals of Antony's were looked upon by Cicero as fatal to the working of the law courts: (1) the addition of a *decuria* to the juries to be drawn from all who had served as centurions, or who had served in any rank in the legion *alauda*; (2) granting an appeal to the *comitia* to those condemned for *vis* or *maiestas* (1 *Phil.* §§ 20-21).

² See Appendix to vol. ii.

³ Gaius Furnius, tribune B.C. 51, was now a *legatus* to Plancus.

DCCLXXXV (F X, 2)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GALLIA
COMATA)

ROME (AFTER 19 SEPTEMBER ?)

No zeal which our close connexion could command in support of the complimentary vote¹ to you would have been wanting on my part, had I been able to enter the senate with safety or dignity. But neither can anyone who freely expresses his opinion on politics appear there without danger, when there is absolutely no restraint upon the employment of armed men,² nor do I think it consistent with my dignity to speak in a place where these armed men hear me more distinctly and from a shorter distance than senators. Accordingly, in private affairs you shall not have to complain of any lack of service or zeal on my part: nor indeed in public affairs either will I ever fail to appear in support of your dignity, if my presence is ever actually necessary, even at the risk of danger to myself. But in matters which can be equally well carried out, even though I am not there, I must ask you to allow me to consider my own safety and dignity.³

¹ A *supplicatio* for some operations in Gaul of which we know nothing, perhaps against the Allobroges (Dio, 46, 50).

² Cicero uses nearly the same expression (*impunitas gladiatorum*) in *Phil.* § 27. He refers to the bodyguard which Antony was gradually forming of ex-centurions and other veterans, which eventually amounted to 6,000 men (Appian, *B.C.* iii. 5).

³ Antony answered Cicero's first Philippic in a carefully prepared and violent speech on the 19th September. The second Philippic (which was never delivered) is written as though delivered in reply on the same day. In it Cicero asserts that the senate is "surrounded by a ring of armed men" (§ 112). This letter may refer to the same date, but if it does it is rather surprising that no allusion is made to the speech of Antony.

DCCLXXXVI (F X, 3)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GALLIA
COMATA)

ROME (SEPTEMBER)

I WAS very glad to see Furnius for his own sake, but all the more glad because in listening to him I seemed to be listening to you. He vividly described your valour in war, the justice of your administration in the province, and the wisdom you displayed in every department. He mentioned besides—what our association and intimacy had not left me ignorant of—the courtesy of your manners, as well also as your very liberal conduct to himself. All these were very pleasant hearing to me: the last roused my gratitude also.

I have had, my dear Plancus, a close bond of friendship with your family, formed a considerable time before you were born, a personal affection for you from your boyhood, and, when you grew up, an intimacy begun from inclination on my part and from deliberate judgment on yours. For these reasons I take extraordinary pains to support your political position, which I am convinced ought to be associated with my own. You have attained to the highest distinctions in every department, virtue shewing the way, and fortune marching by your side. And these you have won though you had many detractors, whom you have baffled by your talents and industry. At present, if you will listen to me—who love you dearly and yield to no one in his claim to be a closer and older friend—you will look for every advancement in the rest of your life from the best possible settlement of the constitution. You know of course—for it could not possibly have escaped you—that there has been a period during which people thought you too much inclined to yield to the circumstances of the time. I should have thought so, too, had I thought that you approved of the things to which you submitted. But as I well knew your real sentiments, I considered that it was

only that you saw the limits of your power. Now the case is different. The decision on all points is in your own hands and is unfettered. You are consul-designate: at the prime of life: a first-rate orator. And all this when the state is unusually destitute of men of this sort. In the name of Heaven, throw yourself heart and soul into the measures calculated to bring you reputation and glory. The one path to glory, especially at a time like this, when the Republic has been harassed to death for so many years, is that of honest administration. It was my personal affection that impelled me to write this to you, rather than any idea of your needing admonition and precept. For I know that you imbibed them from the same fountains as myself. Therefore I will put a period to these exhortations. For the present I thought I should only give a hint—rather to shew you my affection than to display my wisdom. Meanwhile I will attend with zeal and minute care to whatever I think will affect your high position.

DCCLXXXVII (F XII, 2)

TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS (NEAR PUTEOLI)

ROME (SEPTEMBER)

I AM much delighted that my expression of opinion and my speech¹ have your approval. If one might speak like that more often, there would be no trouble about recovering freedom and the constitution. But that infatuated and unprincipled fellow—much worse than the man whom you declared to have been put to death for his flagrant iniquity—is seeking an excuse for a massacre, and accuses me of being the instigator of Cæsar's assassination, with no other motive than that of inciting the veterans against me.²

¹ The first Philippic, spoken in the senate on the 2nd of September. The constant parallelism in thought and language in the following letters with the second Philippic shews that they were written while Cicero was composing it, *i.e.*, after 19th September.

² This is the motive alleged in 2 *Phil.* § 33.

I don't dread that danger, so long as he associates the glory of the deed which you and your fellows wrought with my reputation. Accordingly, we can none of us come to the senate in safety: neither Piso,¹ who was the first to inveigh against him, without anyone to support him; nor I, who did the same a month afterwards; nor Publius Servilius, who followed me closely. For that gladiator² is seeking for a chance of using the sword, and thought that he was going to begin with me on the 19th of September,³ on which day he came primed after studying his speech for many days in the villa of Metellus.⁴ But what sort of "study" was possible in brothels and drunken riots? The result was that in everybody's eyes, as I wrote you word before, he seemed to be but vomiting in his usual way, not speaking.⁵ Wherefore in reference to your remark that you felt confident that some good might be done by my influence and eloquence, I may say that some little good—considering the enormity of the evil—has been done. For the Roman people fully understand that there are three ex-consuls,⁶ who, because they have thought honestly on politics and ventured to speak freely, cannot come in safety to the senate. Nor can you expect anything more than that: for your relative is greatly delighted with his new marriage connexion;⁷ and so he no longer cares about the games, and is bursting with envy at the applause given to your brother.⁸ Your other brother-in-

¹ L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus, the father of Cæsar's last wife, had spoken against Antony in the senate on the 1st of August (1 *Phil.* § 14).

² Cicero is fond of applying this term to Antony, partly in reference to his bodily size and strength. See 2 *Phil.* §§ 7, 63; *infra*, p. 169.

³ The day on which Antony delivered his reply to the first Philippic, composed Cicero says by the aid of the rhetorician Sextus Clodius (2 *Phil.* § 42).

⁴ L. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, who threw himself overboard while escaping from Africa after Thapsus (B.C. 46). Antony had in some way possessed himself of his villa at Tibur.

⁵ Repeated in 2 *Phil.* §§ 6, 42. For the *vomiting*—which is not meant to be merely metaphorical—see 2 *Phil.* §§ 63, 76, 84, 104.

⁶ Piso, Cicero, and P. Servilius Isauricus.

⁷ M. Æmilius Lepidus married Iunia, sister to Tertia, the wife of Cassius: they were both half-sisters to Brutus. The "new marriage connexion" refers to the marriage or betrothal of the son of Lepidus to a daughter of Antony's (Dio, 44, 53).

⁸ Quintus Cassius, tribune in this year, whom Antony threatened with death if he came to the senate (3 *Phil.* § 23).

law has been smoothed down by the new batch of Cæsar's minutes.¹ Still these things are endurable. But the next is intolerable—that there is a man who thinks that his son is to be consul in the year of yourself and Brutus, and for that reason avows his subservience to this bandit.² For my friend Lucius Cotta, yielding to some fatal despair, now comes less frequently to the senate: Lucius Cæsar, a most loyal and gallant citizen, is hindered by ill-health: Servius Sulpicius, a man of the greatest influence and the most excellent sentiments, is not in town. As for the rest, the consuls-designate excepted,³ pardon me if I do not reckon them consulars. These are the leaders of our public policy. Few enough even if things were all going well—what think you in the present disastrous position? Wherefore our sole hope is in you. And if your motive for not coming to Rome is that you cannot do so safely—there is none in you either. But if you are meditating some stroke worthy of your glory, I pray that I may live to see it. But if that cannot be, yet at least the Republic will shortly recover its legal rights by your means. I am not failing to support your friends, nor shall I do so. If they refer to me for anything, my goodwill to you and my good faith shall be made manifest.

DCCLXXXVIII (F XII, 3)

TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS (NEAR PUTEOLI)

ROME (BETWEEN 2 AND 9 OCTOBER)

YOUR friend ⁴ daily becomes madder. To begin with, he has caused "To the father for his eminent services" to be inscribed on the statue which he has placed on the rostra, so

¹ We don't know who this is. It may be M. Iunius Silanus, brother to Iunia and Tertia, now *legatus* to Lepidus, who survived to be consul in B.C. 25. He was serving under Antony at Mutina.

² Brutus and Cassius being prætors B.C. 44, their "proper year" for the consulship would be B.C. 41. We don't know who was expecting to supplant them.

³ Pansa and Hirtius.

⁴ Antony.

that you are now condemned not only as murderers, but as parricides.¹ But why do I say "you"? Rather I should say "we" are condemned: for that madman asserts that I was the head and front of that most glorious deed of yours. Would that I had been! He would not have been troubling us now.² But it is you and your fellows who are responsible for this: and since it is past and done with, I only wish I had some advice to give you. But the fact is, I cannot feel satisfied even of what I myself ought to do. For what is possible against force without having any force oneself? Now the gist of this policy of theirs is to punish the death of Cæsar. Accordingly, on the 2nd of October, being introduced to an assembly by Cannutius, Antony got indeed a very sorry reception: still, he did deliver himself of remarks about the saviours of the country which ought only to have been made about traitors. As to me, indeed, he declared outright both that you had acted and that Cannutius was acting in everything on my advice. You may judge of the rest from the fact that they have deprived your *legatus* of his travelling money.³ What explanation of that do you suppose that they give? They say, forsooth, that it is being conveyed to a public enemy! What a grievous thing, that we could not endure a master, and yet are slaves to a fellow slave! Yet after all, though my will is better than my hopes, there does remain even now some hope in your valour. But where to get forces? As to the future I would rather you consulted your own feelings, than listened to words of mine.

¹ The title of *parens* (or *pater*) *patriæ* had been formally given to Cæsar and was inscribed on coins (see Dio, 44, 3; Suet. *Iul.* 80). Cicero alludes to the guilt of parricide brought thereby upon his assassins in 2 *Phil.* § 31; cp. 13 *Phil.* § 23.

² Cicero often repeats this sentiment, that if he had been one of the assassins, he would have killed Antony also. See, e.g., 2 *Phil.* § 34; *supra*, p. 46.

³ Though Dolabella had gone to take possession of the province of Syria, Cassius still meant to possess himself of it in value of his appointment in Cæsar's time. Meanwhile that appointment had been cancelled by the senate, and he had been nominated to Cyrene, and could therefore have *legati*, and a legal allowance for them. Antony no doubt interfered because he knew that Cassius would not go to Cyrene, but would defy this *senatus consultum* and go to Syria (Appian, *B. C.* iii. 8, 12).

DCCLXXXIX (F XII, 23)

TO Q. CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME (MIDDLE OF OCTOBER)

TRATORIUS has explained to me the whole state of the case regarding your governorship and the position of your province. How many intolerable things are being done in all quarters! But considering your high rank, the treatment accorded to you is still less endurable. For because you put up with these things in the loftiness of your spirit and character without excessive irritation, they none the less call for your vengeance, even though they do not sting your heart. But of this at a future time.¹

I feel sure that a gazette of transactions in the city reaches you. If I had not thought so I would have written an account of them myself, and first and foremost of the attempt made by Octavianus. In regard to this the common people think it a charge trumped up by Antony, as an excuse for making an inroad upon the young man's money. Men of the world, however, and loyalists both believe that it took place and approve of it.² In short, I have great hopes

¹ Q. Cornificius had gone as governor to Africa in B.C. 45 (vol. iii., p. 200). A law of Cæsar's had limited a prætorian province to one year. But though Antony had caused that law to be revoked (1 *Phil.* § 19), a successor had yet been nominated to Cornificius in the person of C. Calvisius Sabinus (prætor B.C. 43), who had already been there before Cornificius (3 *Phil.* § 26), and was a devoted Cæsar. See *infra*, Letter DCCCXXII.

² Whether Octavian did really countenance the attempt to assassinate Antony is a matter of much dispute. Appian (*B. C.* iii. 39) denies it, shewing that it was not in his interest to get rid of Antony at this time. Plutarch (*Ant.* 16) disbelieved it, and Nicolas (*vit. Aug.* 30), who probably gives Octavian's own version, says that Antony invented both plot and the report inculpating Octavian, who, as soon as he heard of it, went to Antony's house and offered to act as one of his guard. Suetonius (*Aug.* 10) of course believes it. See also Seneca, *de Clem.* i. 9, 1. Cicero evidently had no definite knowledge on the subject. I am myself inclined to the version of Nicolas that the whole thing was a deliberate *canard*.

of him. There is nothing he may not be expected to do in future for fame and glory's sake. Antonius, however, our whilom intimate friend, feels himself to be the object of such violent dislike, that though he caught the assassins within his own doors, he does not venture to make the fact public. On the 9th of October he set out to meet the four Macedonian legions, which his idea is to win over to his side by money-bounties, to lead them to the city, and station them as fetters for our necks.¹

There's the state of the Republic for you, if a republic can be said to exist in a camp. And in this matter I often lament your fortune in not being old enough ever to have had a taste of a sound and healthy republic. And up to this time indeed it was at least possible to hope: now even that is snatched from us. For what hope can there be, when Antony ventures to say in a public meeting that Cannutius is "seeking a place for himself with men, for whom as long as he was alive there could be no place in the state"?

For my part I bear these things, and in fact all that can befall a mortal, in such a way as to make me grateful to philosophy, which not only diverts me from anxious thoughts, but also arms me against all assaults of fortune. And you too, I think, should do the same: and believe that to a man who is clear of all wrong-doing nothing is to be reckoned an evil. But you understand this better than I.

I always thought highly of our friend Tratorius, but I have been specially struck by his eminent fidelity, activity, and good sense in your business affairs. Take care of your health: nothing you can do could please me more than that.

¹ There were six legions stationed in Macedonia by Cæsar with full complement of cavalry and equipment for the Getic and Parthian wars. Antony first extorted from the senate the command of them on the plea that the Getæ were threatening Macedonia. Having surrendered one of the legions to Dolabella, he shortly afterwards asked the senate to give him Cisalpine Gaul instead of Macedonia—which was to be transferred to his brother Gaius. The senators—seeing how they were entrapped—refused, but Antony carried it over their heads by a *lex*: and then sent Gaius to bring over the four legions, leaving one for the protection of Macedonia. With these he proposed to drive Decimus Brutus from Cisalpine Gaul, which the senate secretly instigated Brutus to retain. See Appian, *B. C.* iii. 25, 27.

DCCXC (F XVI, 25)

M. CICERO (THE YOUNGER) TO TIRO (AT
ROME)

ATHENS (OCTOBER)

THOUGH your excuse for suspending your letter-writing is reasonable and sufficient, yet I beg you not to do it oftener. For though I get information about politics from rumours and the regular news, and my father always writes fully to me about his own wishes in regard to me, yet a letter written to me by you on any and every thing, however minute, has always been most delightful to me. Therefore, though there is nothing I miss so much as a letter from you, don't fulfil your obligation to write by sending an excuse rather than by regularity in actual letters. Good-bye.

DCCXCI (A XV, 13)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 25 OCTOBER

ON the 25th I received two letters from you. I will therefore answer the earlier one first. I agree with you: but I would neither lead the van or bring up the rear, and yet be on that side in sympathy. I am sending you my speech. As to whether it is to be kept locked up or published, I leave the decision to you. But when shall we see the day when you shall think that it ought to be published?¹ I cannot

¹ The venomous second Philippic—perhaps the most terrible invective ever composed—was never delivered. It is a pamphlet in the form of a speech supposed to be delivered in the senate on the 19th of September in answer to Antony's.

see the possibility of the truce which you mention. Better a masterly silence, which I think I shall employ. You say that two legions have arrived at Brundisium: you in Rome get all news first. So please write and tell me whatever you hear. I am anxious for Varro's "Dialogue."¹ I am now all for writing something in the Heracleides style,² especially as you like it so much. But I should like to know the sort you want. As to what I said to you before (or "previously"—as you prefer to express it), you have, to confess the honest truth, made me keener for writing. For to your own opinion, with which I was already acquainted, you have added the authority of Peducæus—a very high one in my eyes, and among the most weighty. I will therefore do my best to prevent your feeling the lack either of industry or accuracy on my part.

Yes, as you suggest in your letter, I am keeping up with Vettienus and Faberius. I don't think Clodius meant any harm, although——. But it's all one! As to the maintenance of liberty—surely the most precious thing in the world—I agree with you. So it is Caninius Gallus's³ turn now, is it? What a rascal he is! That's the only word for him. Oh cautious Marcellus! I am the same—yet not after all the *most* cautious of men!

I have answered your longer and earlier letter. Now for the shorter and later one—what answer am I to make except that it was a most delightful one? Events in Spain are going very well. If I do but see Balbilius safe and sound, I shall have a support for my old age. As to the estate of Annius your opinion is mine. Visellia shews me great attention. But that's the way of the world. Of Brutus

¹ Varro had promised a Dialogue either dedicated to Cicero, or in which Cicero was to be one of the speakers. See vol. iii., p. 304.

² That is, on constitutional theories, like the work of Heracleides of Pontus. See pp. 56, 93.

³ Most editions now read *C. Annio*, and refer it to *C. Annius Cimber* (II *Phil.* § 14), a follower of Antony's. In this case, *Oh hominem nequam* must be referred to Annius. The MS. reading is *Gallo Caninio*. For L. Caninius Gallus, see *infra*, p. 156. He seems to have just died, and if the name is retained here, we must refer *Oh hominem nequam* to Antony, and suppose Atticus to have told Cicero of some sharp practice of Antony's in regard to his will and property.

you say that you know nothing: but Servilia says that Marcus Scaptius¹ has arrived, and that he will pay her a secret visit at her house without any parade, and that I shall know everything. Meanwhile, she also tells me that a slave of Bassus has arrived to announce that the legions at Alexandria are in arms; that Bassus² is being summoned; Cassius's³ arrival looked for with eagerness. In short, the Republic seems about to recover its legitimate authority. But no shouting before we are out of the wood! You know what adepts in rascality and how reckless these fellows⁴ are.

DCCXCII (A XV, 13 a)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 26 OCTOBER

DOLABELLA is a fine fellow! Although, as I am writing this with the dessert on the table, I am told that he had arrived at Baiae, he nevertheless wrote to me from Formiæ—a letter which reached me just as I had left the bath—saying that he had done his best about assigning debtors to me. He lays the blame on Vettienus. Of course he is up to some dodge, like a true business man. But he says that our friend Sestius has undertaken the whole affair. He indeed is an excellent man and very much attached to us. Still, I am at a loss to know what in the world Sestius can do in a business like this which any one of us could not do. But if anything unexpected happens, please let me know. If, on the other hand, the business, as I think, is hopeless, write all the same. It won't disturb me at all.

I am here philosophizing—what else could I do? I am

¹ For this agent of Brutus, see vol. ii., p. 129.

² For Cæcilius Bassus, the Pompeian who had nearly succeeded in occupying the province of Syria, see vol. iii., p. 335.

³ Cassius was on his way to Syria—in spite of the senate having been forced by Antony to deprive him of that province and give him Cyrene.

⁴ The partisans of Antony.

composing a brilliant essay "On Duties": and addressing it to my son. For on what subject should a father address a son in preference? After that I shall begin other subjects. In short, this tour shall have something to shew for itself. People expect Varro to-day or to-morrow. I, however, am hurrying off to Pompeii, not because anything can be more beautiful than this place, but because interrupters are less troublesome there.

But do tell me distinctly what was the charge against Myrtilus,¹ for I hear that he has been executed. Is it discovered who suborned him? As I am writing these words I imagine that the speech² is being delivered to you. Dear, dear! how nervous I am as to what you think of it! And yet, what does it matter to me? For it is not likely to get abroad unless the constitution has been restored. And as to that I do not venture to say what I hope in a letter.

DCCXCIII (F XI, 4)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT PUTEOLI)

GALLIA CISALPINA (1 NOVEMBER)

DECIMUS BRUTUS, *imperator*,³ consul-designate, sends regards to Marcus Cicero. If I had had any doubt about your friendly feeling towards myself, I should have begged you at great length to defend my political position. But I

¹ See *infra*, p. 150. He appears to have been a slave, accused of having attempted Antony's life at the instigation of Decimus Brutus.

² The second Philippic.

³ For this title see vol. ii., p. 80. It implies that Decimus Brutus had been so greeted by his soldiers in some battle against the Gallic tribes—presumably during the campaign described in this letter in the Alpine district. The aristocratic party at Rome were not pleased at his proceedings, and thought that he should have reserved his forces to oppose Antony. He partly meets that objection, of which no doubt he had heard, by suggesting that his men had gained a training in this campaign which made them better fitted to oppose Antony's party. His real successes were probably unimportant. They are not recorded elsewhere.

am, in fact, convinced that you are earnest on my behalf. I went on an expedition against the Alpine tribes, not so much because I aimed at the title of *imperator*, as from a wish to content my soldiers and to render them efficient for supporting our policy. And this, I think, I have accomplished; for they have had practical proof both of my open-handed disposition and of my courage. I fought with the most warlike tribes in the country: I took numerous strong places, and laid waste a wide stretch of country. I had good grounds for sending my despatch to the senate. Assist us by your senatorial support: in doing so you will to a great degree be serving the interests of the state.

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DCCXCIV (A XVI, 8)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 2 NOVEMBER

WHEN I know what day I am coming to town I will let you know. I must expect some hindrances, and there is illness among my household. On the evening of the 1st I got a letter from Octavian. He is entering upon a serious undertaking. He has won over to his views all the veterans at Casilinum and Calatia. And no wonder: he gives a bounty of 500 denarii apiece. Clearly, his view is a war with Antony under his leadership. So I perceive that before many days are over we shall be in arms. But whom are we to follow? Consider his name, consider his age!¹ Again, to begin with, he demands a secret interview with me, at Capua of all

¹ Augustus was born in September, B.C. 63, and was therefore now nineteen. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, § 1, he begins the record of his achievements thus: "When nineteen years old I collected an army on my own account and at my own expense, by means of which I restored to liberty the Republic, which had been enslaved by the tyranny of a faction." By a "faction" Augustus here means, however, the anti-Cæsarian aristocrats. At this time Cicero hoped that this army was to be used in their interests as against Antony's, though, as we see, he had uneasy doubts about it.

places! It is really quite childish if he supposes that it can be kept private. I have written to explain to him that it is neither necessary nor practicable. He sent a certain Cæcina of Volaterræ¹ to me, an intimate friend of his own, who brought me the news that Antony was on his way towards the city with the legion Alauda, was imposing a money contribution on the municipal towns, and was marching at the head of the legion with colours flying. He wanted my opinion whether he should start for Rome with his army of 3,000 veterans, or should hold Capua, and so intercept Antony's advance, or should join the three Macedonian legions now sailing by the Mare Superum, which he hopes are devoted to himself. They refused to accept a bounty offered them by Antony, as my informant at least says. They even used grossly insulting language to him, and moved off when he attempted to address them. In short, Octavian offers himself as our military leader, and thinks that our right policy is to stand by him. On my part I advised his making for Rome. For I think that he will have not only the city mob, but, if he can impress them with confidence, the loyalists also on his side. Oh, Brutus, where are you? What an opportunity you are losing! For my part I did not foresee this, but I thought that something of the sort would happen. Now, I desire to have your advice. Shall I come to Rome or stay on here? Or am I to fly to Arpinum? There is a sense of security about that place! My opinion is—Rome, lest my absence should be remarked, if people think that a blow has been struck. Unravel this difficulty. I was never in greater perplexity.

¹ Of the Cæcinæ of Volaterræ. See vol. iii., p. 123.

DCCXCV (A XVI, 9)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, NOVEMBER

Two letters on the same day from Octavian ! His present view is that I should come to Rome at once : and that he wishes to act through the senate. I told him that a meeting of the senate was impossible before the 1st of January :¹ and I believe it is really so. But he adds also : " And by your advice." In short, he insists : while I " suspend judgment." I don't trust his youth. I am in the dark as to his disposition. I am not willing to do anything without your friend Pansa. I am afraid of Antony succeeding, and I don't like going far from the sea : and at the same time I fear some great *coup* without my being there. Varro, for his part, doesn't like the youth's plan. I don't agree with him. He has forces on which he can depend. He can count on Decimus Brutus,² and is making no secret of his intentions. He is organizing his men in companies at Capua ; he is paying them their bounty-money. War seems to be ever coming nearer and nearer. Do answer this letter. I am surprised that my letter-carrier left Rome on the 1st without anything from you.

¹ Impossible, that is, with safety to the opponents of Antony, the *boni*. For Antony as consul would preside, and it would be surrounded by his guards. Several meetings of the senate were, as a matter of fact, held before Antony's term of office was over. On the 1st of January the new consuls, Pansa and Hirtius, would preside.

² Now governor of Gallia Cisalpina, who would be sure to take Octavian's side, because Antony claimed to have been nominated to his province.

DCCXCVI (A XVI, 11)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI, 5 NOVEMBER

I RECEIVED two letters from you on the 5th, one dated on the 1st, the other on the day previous. So first for the earlier one. I am delighted that you like my pamphlet, from which you have picked the plums. They seem all the more brilliant to my eyes for your approval of them. For I was mortally afraid of those little red wax wafers¹ of yours. As to Sicca, it is as you say. I could scarcely refrain from the subject you mention.² So I will pass over the matter lightly, and without fixing any opprobrium upon Sicca and Septimia, only just enough to let our children's children know, without any Lucilian ambiguity, that Antony had had children by the daughter of Fadius Gallus.³ And I only wish I may live to see the day when that oration may have such free circulation in Rome as to find its way even into Sicca's house. "But we must have a return to the state of things under the triumvirs!"⁴ Hang me, if that isn't a good

¹ See p. 86.

² Reading *ab ista re*. But the text is very uncertain. Apparently what Cicero refrained from mentioning was an intrigue of Antony's with Septimia, the wife of Sicca. The latter was a great friend of his, and therefore Atticus had suggested that the topic should be avoided. Cicero seems to have alluded—though obscurely—to it (2 *Phil.* § 3), speaking of having espoused the cause of a *familiaris* against Antony. Perhaps in the original draft the allusion was more patent, and names were mentioned.

³ Q. Fadius Gallus, a freedman. Cicero harps on this *mésalliance* more than once (see 2 *Phil.* § 3; 13 *Phil.* § 23). It was probably Antony's first marriage, and the motive was apparently money. He afterwards married his cousin Antonia, whom he divorced in B.C. 47, and in B.C. 46 or 45 married Fulvia, widow first of Clodius and then of Curio. The expression *sine vallo Luciliano* is very doubtful. Tyrrell and Purser propose *φραγμαῖ* or *φράγματι*. It in some way seems to mean that Lucilius in his personal attacks guarded himself from danger of retaliation.

⁴ This is the literal translation, but it seems a poor jest for Atticus to have made. Perhaps he did not mean to jest, but said in all serious-

joke! However, please read it to Sextus Peducæus, and write and tell me his opinion of it. Better his one than ten thousand in my eyes. Be on your guard against the appearance of Calenus and Calvena¹ on the scene. You fear that I shall think you long-winded. Who less so? As Aristophanes² thought of the iambs of Archilochus—the longest letter from you ever seems the best. As to your “admonishing me”—why, even if you reprimanded me, I should bear it not merely with patience, but with real pleasure, for in your reprimand there were both wisdom and kindly purpose. Therefore I shall cheerfully correct faults pointed out by you. I will write “by the same right as you did the property of Rubrius,” instead of “the property of Scipio”:³ and I will soften down my excessive praise of Dolabella. Yet, after all, there seems a very neat piece of irony in saying “that he had fought three battles against his fellow citizens.”⁴ Again, I prefer your suggestion: “It is the most inequitable thing in the world that this man should be living” to “What could be more inequitable?”⁵ I am not jealous of your admiring Varro’s *Peplographia*.⁶ But I haven’t yet got out of him his “Essay in the style of Heracleides.”⁷ You urge me to write. It is very friendly

ness that the present times were so bad that they made them look back to the period when Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus were supreme (B.C. 59-53) as a golden age of liberty in comparison.

¹ Friends of Antony and warm Cæsarians. For Q. Fufius Calenus see vol. iii., p. 35; for C. Matius Calvena see pp. 5, 9, 16.

² The grammarian and critic of Alexandria.

³ The reference is to 2 *Phil.* § 103. Cicero more than once refers in this Philippic to the case of Lucius Rubrius, whom he alleges that Antony forced to make a will in his favour. L. Rubrius was one of the officers captured and released by Cæsar with Domitius at Corfinium (*Cæs. B. C.* i. 23), and Antony may have found means to put pressure on him. Scipio perhaps refers to Pompey’s father-in-law, and Atticus seems to have objected to accusing Antony of invading his property.

⁴ 2 *Phil.* § 75. The point of the passage is to contrast Dolabella’s energy even in a bad cause—in having been present at all three battles—with Antony’s want of spirit.

⁵ The latter, however, still stands in the text of 2 *Phil.* § 86.

⁶ A title of a book of Varro’s on famous men, taken from the sacred Peplus or robe offered once a year at Athens to Athenè, which was embroidered with figures from legends and history.

⁷ A political treatise (see p. 59) which Varro had promised to dedicate to Cicero (vol. iii., p. 305).

of you, but the fact is I do nothing else. I am very sorry to hear of your cold. Pray attend to it with all your accustomed care. I am very glad my "Oh Titus"¹ does you good. The "men of Anagnia"² are Mustela, captain of his ruffians, and Laco who is a notorious toper. The book for which you ask me I will polish up and send you.

Now for your later letter. The *de Officiis*—as far as Panætius goes—I have completed in two books. His treatise is in three. But at the beginning he had defined the cases in which duty has to be determined to be three: one when we deliberate as to whether a thing is right or wrong; another whether it is expedient or inexpedient; and a third when there seems to be a contest between the right and the expedient, on what principle we are to decide—as, for instance, in the case of Regulus, it was right to return, expedient to stay. Well, having begun by defining these three categories, he discussed the first two in brilliant style; on the third he promised an essay in due course, but never wrote it. That topic was taken up by Posidonius. I, however, both sent for the latter's book, and also wrote to Athenodorus Calvus to send me an analysis of it. I am now waiting for this, and I should be obliged if you would give him a reminder and ask him to send it as soon as possible. In that treatise there are remarks upon "relative duty." As to your question about the title, I have no doubt about *officium* representing καθήκον—unless you have something else to suggest—but the fuller title is *de Officiis*. Finally, I address it to my son. It seemed to me to be not inappropriate.

About Myrtilus³ you make all clear. Oh, what a vivid picture you always give of that set! Does he really try to implicate Decimus Brutus? Heaven confound them! I have not gone into hiding at Pompeii, as I told you I should do. In the first place owing to the weather, which has been most abominable; and in the second because I get a letter from Octavian every day, begging me to undertake the business, to come to Capua, once more to save the Republic, and in any case to go at once to Rome:

¹ The first words of the *de Senectute*.

² See 2 *Phil.* § 106. The two names are now given in the text.

³ See p. 144.

“Ashamed to shrink and yet afraid to take.”¹

After all, his action has been extremely vigorous, and still is so. He will come to Rome with a large body of men, but he is very green. He thinks he can have a meeting of the senate at once. Who will come to it? Who, if he does come, will venture to oppose Antony in the present undecided state of things? On the 1st of January he will perhaps be a protection to them, or before that time a pitched battle will perhaps be fought. The municipal towns shew astonishing enthusiasm for the boy. For instance, on his way into Samnium he came to Cales and stopped at Teanum. There was a wonderful procession to meet him, and loud expressions of encouragement. Would you have thought that? It makes me resolve to go to Rome earlier than I had intended. As soon as I have made up my mind, I will write.

Though I have not yet read the terms of agreement—for Eros has not yet arrived—yet I would have you settle the business on the 12th. I shall be able to send letters to Catina, Tauromenium, and Syracuse with greater ease, if Valerius the interpreter will send me the names of the influential people. For such men vary from time to time, and our special friends are mostly dead. However, I have written some circular letters for Valerius to use if he chooses, or he must send me names. About the holidays for Lepidus's inauguration,² Balbus tells me that they will extend to the 30th. I shall look anxiously for a letter from you, and I think I shall learn about that little affair of Torquatus. I am forwarding you a letter from Quintus, to shew you how strongly attached he is to the youth,³ whom it vexes him that you do not love enough. As Attica is inclined to be merry—the best sign in children—give her a kiss for me.

¹ Homer, *Il.* vii. 93. See vol. ii., p. 144.

² As Pontifex Maximus.

³ The younger Quintus, of whose alienation from his uncle Atticus we have heard before. See vol. iii., p. 348.

DCCXCVII (A XVI, 12)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

PUTEOLI (6 NOVEMBER)

I SEND you a copy of a letter from Oppius, because of its great kindness. As to Ocella, while you are dallying about and never writing me a line I have taken the law into my own hands. So I think I shall be at Rome on the 12th. It seems to me to be better to be there for nothing, though it may not be absolutely necessary, than not to be there if it is. And at the same time I am afraid of being cut off from a return. For Antony may be already on his way thither, for there are various rumours afloat, and many of them which I only wish were true. There is, however, nothing certain. But for my part, whatever the truth may be, I would rather be with you than be in suspense both for you and myself, owing to my absence from you. But what am I to say to you? Cheer up! As to Varro's Heracleidean¹ work—it is really rather comic! I was never so tickled with anything. But this and other things when we meet.

DCCXCVIII (A XVI, 10)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

SINUESSA, 8 NOVEMBER

ON the 7th I arrived at my lodge at Sinuessa. On the same day it was the common talk that Antony was going to halt at Casilinum. So I changed my plan: for I had re-

¹ See p. 142. Varro had apparently once more disappointed Cicero of the promised dedication, and perhaps made some lame excuse, which Cicero regarded as ridiculous.

solved to go straight along the Appian road to Rome. He would have easily caught me up; for they say he travels with Cæsarian rapidity. I therefore turned off at Minturnæ by the road to Arpinum. I made up my mind to stay on the 9th at Aquinum or in Arcanum.¹ Now then, my dear Atticus, give your whole mind to this anxious consideration: for it is a very grave business. There are three alternatives: am I to remain at Arpinum, or to remove nearer town, or to come to Rome? Whichever you think right, I will do. But answer at once: I am waiting eagerly for a letter from you.

Morning, 8 November, at Sinuessa.

DCCXCIX (A XVI, 13 a)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

AQUINUM, 10 NOVEMBER

WHAT a wonderful coincidence! On the 8th,² having got up before daybreak to quit my lodge at Sinuessa, and having just before dawn reached the Tiretian bridge at Minturnæ, where the road to Arpinum branches off, there met me a letter-carrier, who found me

“On long, long voyage bent.”

I at once exclaimed, “Here! anything from Atticus?” I wasn’t able at first to read it: for I had sent away the torches and there wasn’t sufficient daylight. As soon, however, as it grew light—having already written a letter to you—I began reading the earlier of your two. It certainly is the most charming letter in the world. May I perish if I do not write and exactly what I think: I never read anything kinder. So I will come when you call me, only

¹ A villa of Quintus Cicero, near Minturnæ (vol. i., p. 291).

² Though the civil day ended as ours does at midnight, in ordinary usage it was counted from sunrise to sunset. Therefore what Cicero calls the 8th before daybreak we should call the 9th.

provided that you support me. At first, however, I thought nothing could be more at cross purposes than that you should send me such an answer to the letter in which I asked for your advice. Then there's your second letter, in which you advise me to go

“By windy Mimas towards the Psyrian isle,”¹

that is, leaving the Appian Way *à gauche*. Accordingly, I stay this day at Aquinum. It was a somewhat weary journey and a bad road. I despatch this letter next day, as I am leaving Aquinum.

DCCC (A XVI, 13 b)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM (10 NOVEMBER)

THE letter of Eros compelled me very much against my will to let — go.² Tiro will tell you about the affair. Pray consider what ought to be done. And also please say whether it is possible for me to come nearer town—for I should prefer being at Tusculum or in some suburban residence—or whether I must remove to a still greater distance. Write frequently, for there will be somebody to take a letter every day. You ask my advice besides as to what I think you ought to do. It is difficult to say at this distance. However, if the two³ are equally matched—stay where you are. Otherwise, the mischief will spread, and that will even reach us. Then we must put our heads together.

¹ Homer, *Odys.* iii. 171. He means, “skirt the Apennines, and go towards Arpinum.” We have heard of *insula Arpinas* already, vol. iii., p. 212. For *Ψυρίη*, see vol. i., p. 252.

² Probably there is some proper name as well as other words missing in the text.

³ Antony and Octavian.

DCCCI (A XVI, 13 c)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM, 11 NOVEMBER

I AM eagerly waiting for your advice. I am afraid of being absent when it may be more honourable to be present: yet I dare not come without proper precautions. About Antony's march I am now told something different from what I wrote to you. Please therefore unravel the whole mystery and let me have trustworthy intelligence. As to the rest, what am I to say to you? I am very keen in the study of history—for your suggestion inspires me beyond belief. But it can neither be begun nor finished without your aid. When we meet, therefore, we will hold conference on that subject at any rate. For the present, I should be glad if you would write me word in what consulship Gaius Fannius, son of Marcus, was tribune. I think I have heard that it was in the censorship of P. Africanus and L. Mummius.¹ So I want to know if it was so. Pray send me news of every political development—entirely trustworthy and definite.

From Arpinum, 11 November.

DCCCII (A XVI, 14)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM (NOVEMBER)

I HAVE absolutely nothing to write about. For when I was at Puteoli there was always something new about Octavian,

¹ B.C. 142. Coss., L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus. Cicero seems to be now engaged on the *de Amicitia*, in which C. Fannius is a speaker.

much also that was false about Antony. However, in regard to what you have said in your letters—for I received three from you on the 11th—I quite agree with you that, if Octavian gets much power, the *acta* of the tyrant will be confirmed much more decisively than they were in the temple of Tellus,¹ and that this will be against the interests of Brutus. Yes, but if he is beaten, you perceive that Antony becomes intolerable: so that you can't tell which to prefer.

What a rascal that letter-carrier of Sestius is! He said he would be at Rome on the day after leaving Puteoli. You advise me to move cautiously. Yes, I agree with you; though I had once other ideas. I am not influenced by Philippus or Marcellus.² For their position is different; and if it isn't, it is nevertheless thought so. But though that young man has plenty of spirit, he lacks prestige. Nevertheless, consider whether I can be safely in my house at Tusculum, and whether it would be better for me to be there. I should prefer it: for then I shall be up to date in my information. Or had I better stay here when Antony arrives?

But to turn to another subject—I am quite satisfied that what the Greeks call *καθήκον* (duty) we call *officium*. Now, why should you doubt of this being also applicable to the language of public life? Don't we speak of the *officium* of consuls, of senate, or of an emperor? It is eminently applicable: if not, suggest some other word.

I am very sorry to hear your news about the son of Nepos.³ I am much disturbed and sincerely sorry. I did not know that he had a son at all. I have lost Caninius⁴—a man who, as far as I am concerned, was the reverse of ungrateful. There is no occasion for you to whip up Athenodorus: he has sent me a very good *précis*.⁵ Pray use every possible means to get rid of your cold. The

¹ At the meeting of the senate on the *Liberalia*. See p. 17.

² C. Claudius Marcellus (consul B.C. 50), married to Octavia, the sister of Octavian. L. Marcius Philippus, stepfather of Octavian.

³ Cornelius Nepos, who it seems has just lost a son.

⁴ L. Caninius Gallus, tribune in B.C. 56. He was impeached in B.C. 55, and defended by Cicero (vol. i., p. 259; vol. ii., p. 33).

⁵ Of the views of Posidonius, which Cicero wanted for the third book of the *de Officiis*. See p. 150.

great-grandson of your grandfather¹ writes to the grandson of my father,² that after the Nones, in which I made my famous *coup*,³ he intends to unfold the story of the temple of Ops, and that too in the face of the whole people. You will look out, therefore, and write me word. I am anxious to hear the criticism of Sextus.⁴

DCCCIH (F XVI, 24)

TO TIRO (AT ROME)

ARPINUM (NOVEMBER)

THOUGH I sent Harpalus this morning, yet since I had a man to whom I could safely intrust a letter, in spite of there being nothing new to say, I determined to write repeatedly to you on the same subjects: not because I did not feel confidence in your assiduity, but because the gravity of the business leaves me no rest. The top and tail (or, as the Greek proverb has it, the prow and stern) of my motive in sending you from my side was that you might put my financial affairs straight. Let Ofilius and Aurelius in any case be paid. If you can't get the whole sum out of Flamma,⁵ get a part of it: above all, see that the instalment⁶ (from Dolabella) is duly paid on the 1st of January. Settle about the assignment of debts: see to the ready-money payments. So much for my private concerns. On public affairs send me all trustworthy intelligence: what Octavian, what Antony is doing; what the general opinion is; what you think is going to happen. I can scarcely pre-

¹ His nephew Quintus Cicero.

² Cicero's son Marcus.

³ The arrest of the Catilinarian conspirators on the 5th of December, B.C. 63. The 5th of December is held by some to be the day on which the new quaestors entered office (1 *Verres* x. § 30). But this fact is not certain, nor does it appear what Quintus Cicero could do if it were so. He had no office, and therefore could not address a meeting unless introduced by a magistrate. The "temple of Ops" refers to the seizure by Antony of the public money there. See p. 29; 2 *Phil.* § 93.

⁴ What Sextus Peducæus thinks of the second Philippic. See p. 149.

⁵ See p. 32.

⁶ See p. 41.

vent myself hurrying to Rome. But, hush! I am waiting anxiously for a letter from you. Yes, Balbus was at Arpinum on the day you were told, and the next day came Hirtius. Both I think were bound for the waters. But it is all one to me! Take care that Dolabella's agents are reminded. Dun Papia also. Good-bye.

DCCCIV (A XVI, 15)

TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

ARPINUM (BETWEEN 11 NOVEMBER AND 9 DECEMBER)

DON'T put it down to idleness that I do not write with my own hand—and yet, by heaven, do put it down to idleness; for I have no other excuse to give: and, after all, I think I recognize the hand of Alexis in your letters. But to come to business. If Dolabella had not treated me in the most dishonourable manner, I should perhaps have considered whether to be somewhat easy with him or to press for my strict rights. As it is, however, I even rejoice that an opportunity has been presented me of making both him and everybody else perceive that I have become alienated from him. I will avow it openly, and shew indeed that it is not only for my own sake, but for that of the Republic also, that I detest him: because, after having undertaken under my advice to support it, he has not only deserted it for a money bribe, but has also, as far as in him lay, contributed to its ruin. Well, you ask what proceedings I wish to be taken. As soon as the day comes, I should like them to be of such a nature as to make it natural for me to be at Rome. But in regard to that, as in regard to everything else, I will yield to your opinion. On the main question, however, I wish the matter pressed with all vigour and severity. Though it does not look well to call upon sureties for payment, yet I would have you consider how far such a step is justifiable. For it is open to me, with a view to his sureties being eventually called upon, to bring his agents into the case. I am sure the latter will

not defend the suit. Though, if they do, I am aware that the sureties are thereby relieved from obligation. But I think that it would be a stigma on him not to free his agents from a debt for which he gave security; and that my character requires me to enforce my right without inflicting signal disgrace upon him. Pray write and tell me what you think of this. I have no doubt that you will conduct the whole case with all proper mildness.

I return to public affairs. I have received—heaven knows—many a prudent word from you under the head of politics, but never anything wiser than your last letter: “Though that youth is powerful and has given Antony a fine check: yet, after all, we must wait to see the end.” Why, what a speech!¹ It has been sent to me. He qualifies his oath by the words: “So may I attain to the honours of my father!” and at the same time he held out his right hand in the direction of his statue. *Nec servatoribus istis!* But, as you say in your letter, the most certain source of danger I see to be the tribuneship of this Cæsar of ours. This is what I spoke about to Oppius. When he urged me to open my arms to the young man, the whole cause, and the levy of veterans, I replied that I could by no means do so unless I was completely satisfied that he would be not only not hostile to the tyrannicides, but actually their friend. When he remarked that it would be so, I said, “What is our hurry then? For Octavian does not require my services till the 1st of January: whereas we meanwhile shall learn his disposition before the 13th of December in the case of Casca.”² He cordially assented. Wherefore, so far so good. For the rest you shall have a letter-carrier every day, and, as I think, you will have something to write to me every day. I inclose a copy of Lepta’s letter, from which I gather that that braggart captain³ has lost his footing. But you will judge when you read it.

P.S.—When I had already sealed this letter I got one from you and Sextus.⁴ Nothing could be more delightful and

¹ The *contio* delivered by Octavian on his first visit to Rome.

² One of the assassins. He was tribune-elect, and would come into office 10th December.

³ Antony, some of whose men had been deserting to Octavian.

⁴ Sextus Peducæus.

loving than Sextus's letter. For yours was only a short note. Your previous one was fuller of matter. Your advice is as prudent as it is friendly—that I should remain in this neighbourhood by preference, until I hear how the present movements end. But for myself, my dear Atticus, it isn't the Republic that at this moment gives me great anxiety—not because there is anything dearer than it in my eyes or ought to be so, but Hippocrates himself forbids medical treatment in desperate cases. So good-bye to all that! It is my personal property that affects me. Property, do I say? Nay, rather my personal reputation. For great as my balances are, I have not yet realized enough even to pay Terentia. Terentia, do I say? You know that we some time ago settled to pay twenty-five sestertia for the debt to Montanus. My son, from a very keen sense of honour, asked us to pay this out of his allowance: and very liberal too it was of him, as you also thought. I promised him, and told Eros to earmark it. Not only did he not do so; but Aurelius¹ was forced to raise a fresh loan at a most oppressive rate of interest. For as to the debt to Terentia, Tiro wrote me word that you said that there would be cash from Dolabella. I believe that he misunderstood you—if ever a man did misunderstand—or rather that he did not understand anything about it. For you wrote and told me the answer made by Cocceius, and so did Eros in nearly the same words.

We must come therefore to Rome—however hot the conflagration. For personal insolvency is more discreditable than public disaster. Accordingly, on the other subjects, on which you wrote to me in a most charming style, I was too completely upset to be able to reply in my usual way. Give your mind to enabling me to extricate myself from the anxiety in which I now am. By what measures I am to do so, some ideas do occur to my mind, but I can settle nothing for certain until I have seen you. Why should I be less safe at Rome than Marcellus? But that is not now the question; nor is that the thing about which I am chiefly anxious. You see what is occupying my thoughts. I am with you directly therefore.²

¹ The agent of Montanus.

² Cicero reached Rome on the 9th of December (p. 162). Therefore the correspondence with Atticus was interrupted, as he was with him in

DCCCXV (F X, 4)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT
ROME)GALLIA COMATA¹ (NOVEMBER)

I WAS very much pleased with your letters,² which I note as having been written in consequence of what Furnius said to you. The excuse for not having written before which I have to offer is that I was told that you had left the country; nor did I learn of your return³ much before your own letter told me of it. I say this, because I do not think that I can omit any attention to you, however insignificant, without the very gravest breach of duty. For being careful to pay such attentions I have innumerable reasons, whether I look to the close ties between our fathers, or my reverence for you which began with my childhood, or your mutual affection for me. Wherefore, my dear Cicero, as far as our respective ages permit, convince yourself that you are the one man whose society has enabled me to maintain the purity of life of which my father gave me an example. Therefore all the counsels you give are, in my eyes, inspired not more by wisdom—though in that they are supreme—than by loyal friendship, which I gauge by

person. It was either never renewed, or subsequent letters have been all lost. These are the last words that have come to us of a correspondence between two men among the most remarkable existing for its continuity, as well as for its candour and complete unreserve. The remainder of the correspondence, though it carries us through almost the most momentous and exciting months ever experienced in Rome, has indeed all the agitation and stir of life, but lacks the note of complete confidence and self-revelation of the letters to Atticus.

¹ Plancus was governor of all Transalpine Gaul, except Narbonensis, which Lepidus held with Hither Spain. This was sometimes called *Gallia Comata*.

² See Letters DCCLXXXIV, DCCLXXXV.

³ From the journey to Greece, begun at Leucopetra and abandoned (see pp. 119, 131). For Furnius, see p. 134.

my own heart. Supposing me then to be otherwise minded, your reprimand at any rate would have been sufficient to stop me: or supposing me to be hesitating, your exhortation would have sufficed to force me to follow the course which you thought to be the most honourable. As it is, however, what is there to draw me in a different direction? Whatever advantages I possess, whether bestowed upon me by the kindness of fortune or acquired by my own labour, though your affection induces you to value them with partial kindness, are yet so great in the judgment even of my bitterest opponent, that they lack nothing but the good opinion of the world. Wherefore, if you were ever sure of anything, be sure of this—whatever effort my bodily strength, whatever provision my mental powers, whatever impression my personal influence, are capable of making—all these shall ever be at the service of the Republic. Your sentiments are not unknown to me: and if I had the opportunity—as I wish with all my heart I had—of seeing you face to face, I should never have dissented from your policy; nor even as it is will I allow any act of mine to deserve your just rebuke. I am anxiously awaiting news from every quarter, to learn what goes on in Cisalpine Gaul, or in the city, when January comes. Meanwhile my greatest anxiety and concern here are lest, instigated by the malpractices of others, these tribes should regard our difficulty as their opportunity. But if my success equals my deserts, I shall at any rate satisfy the expectations both of yourself, which is my chief ambition, and of all loyalists.¹

¹ This letter well illustrates the vanity and shiftiness of the “constitutional traitor” Plancus, who was already making his plans to watch events and join the stronger party. He therefore contrives in most elaborate language to say just nothing. The two objects which he had in view were to keep his province, of which Antony's triumph would probably deprive him, but also to have the consulship of B.C. 42, to which Cæsar had nominated him. For this latter purpose it might suit him better to join Antony. This double ambition kept him for many months hovering between the two sides.

DCCCVI (F XI, 5)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (IN CISALPINE GAUL)

ROME (DECEMBER)

MARCUS CICERO to Decimus Brutus, *imperator*, consul-designate. At the time that our common friend Lupus reached Rome, and during his few days' residence there, I was in the part of the country in which I thought I should be safest. That was the reason of Lupus returning to you without a letter from me, though he had nevertheless seen to yours being conveyed to me. I arrived at Rome, however, on the 9th of December, and my first object was an immediate visit to Pansa. His report of you was everything I could desire. Wherefore you require no encouragement, since in the execution of that great deed—surely the greatest known to history—you required none. Yet I think I ought briefly to point out that the Roman people looks entirely to you, and places on you its whole hope of eventually recovering its liberty. If you—as I am sure is the case—remember day and night how great a deed you have done, you certainly will not forget what great ones remain for you to do. For if the man now gets hold of your province—a man with whom I was always on friendly terms till I found that he was not only openly at war with the Republic, but glad to be so—I can see no hope of safety left. Wherefore I join my prayers to those of the people and senate of Rome, beseeching you to free the Republic from a tyrannical despotism, in order that you may end as you began. This is your task, this the part you have to play. It is from you that the state—or rather all nations of the world—not only expect this, but even demand it. Since, however, as I said above, you do not need encouragement, I will not waste many words upon it. I will do no more than promise you—as in duty bound—all my services, zeal, care, and thought, which will henceforth be devoted to enhancing your fame and glory. Therefore pray convince yourself of this: not only for the sake of the

Republic, which is dearer to me than life itself, but also because I am devoted to you personally and desire the farther improvement of your political position, I will nowhere fail to support your loyal policy, your greatness, or your glory.

DCCCVII (F X, 5)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN TRANSALPINE
GAUL)

ROME (DECEMBER)

I HAVE received a letter from you in duplicate, which in itself shews me how careful you are: for I understood that you were anxious that a letter which I most ardently desired should reach my hands. From this letter I received a double satisfaction, such that it is difficult for me to decide by any comparison, whether to regard your affection for me or your loyalty to the Republic as the more valuable. As a general truth affection for one's country is, in my judgment at least, the greatest thing of all; but personal love and sympathy find certainly a softer place in our heart. Therefore your recalling the friendship of our fathers and the affection which you have bestowed on me from your childhood, and all the other circumstances accompanying that feeling, gave me the keenest pleasure. Again, the revelation of the sentiments which you entertain towards the Republic and intend to maintain was most delightful to me, and my joy was all the greater because it came in addition to what you had said before. Accordingly, my dear Plancus, I do not merely exhort you—I go so far as actually to entreat you—as I did in the letter to which you have made such an exceedingly kind answer—to throw yourself with all your soul and with every impulse of your heart into the cause of the Republic. There is nothing that can bring you higher reward or greater glory, nor is there anything that a human being can do more splendid or brilliant than to deserve well of the Republic. I say this because as yet—for your consummate kindness

and wisdom permit me to speak my sentiments with candour—you seem to have accomplished the most splendid achievements with the support of fortune ; and though you could not have done so without personal merit, yet to a great extent those achievements are commonly put down to fortune and the circumstances of the time. But in a crisis of such supreme difficulty as the present, whatever help you give to the Republic will be wholly and peculiarly your own. You could scarcely believe how all citizens, except the rebel party, detest Antony. High hopes are placed on you and your army—great expectations. In heaven's name, do not let slip the opportunity for gaining such popularity and glory ! I counsel you as a father might a son : I am as eager for your honour as for my own : I exhort you with the fervour inspired by my country's cause and the knowledge of your devoted friendship.

DCCCVIII (F XI, 7)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (IN CISALPINE GAUL)

ROME, 19 DECEMBER

LUPUS having brought both Libo and your cousin Servius to see me at my town house, I think that you will have learnt from Marcus Seius, who was present at our conversation, what opinion I expressed. The rest you will be able to learn from Græceius, though he did stay long behind Seius. But the head and front of it all is that I wish you most carefully to notice and to remember that you must not wait to be authorized by the senate in preserving the safety of the Roman people, for the senate is not yet free. If you do so, in the first place you condemn your own action, for you freed the Republic without any public authority—which makes it still more glorious—and, in the second place, you decide that this young man, or rather this boy, Cæsar has acted without justification in having assumed such a grave public responsibility on his own initiative. Lastly, you convict of madness those who are indeed rustics, but yet are most

gallant soldiers and loyal citizens¹—in the first place veterans who have served with you of old, and in the next place the Martian and the fourth legions,² which have adjudged their own consul to be a public enemy and have transferred their services to the support of the safety of the Republic. The wishes of the senate must be regarded as its authorization, since that authorization is prevented by fear. Lastly, you have now twice espoused this cause: first on the Ides of March, and again recently by collecting a new army and new forces. Wherefore you ought to be prepared for everything, and inspired with the resolution not to decline doing anything without instructions, but to do what will secure universal praise and the greatest admiration.

DCCCIX (F XI, 6)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT MUTINA)

ROME, 20 DECEMBER

OUR friend Lupus, having reached Rome on the sixth day from Mutina, came to call on me next morning and delivered your message to me in the most explicit terms and gave me your letter. When you commend the defence of your political position to me, I regard you as at the same time commending to me my own, which, by heaven, I do not regard as dearer to me than yours. Wherefore you will be doing me the greatest favour, if you will regard it as a settled thing that no counsel or zeal on my part will ever be wanting in the promotion of your reputation. The tribunes of the plebs having given notice of a meeting of the senate for the 20th of December, and designing to make a proposal for

¹ Cæsar's veterans, who had been settled in Campania. See p. 145.

² The *legio Martia* and the *quarta* were brought over by Antony from Macedonia to Brundisium, and ordered to march up the coast to Ariminum. But they left that road and marched along the *via Minucia* to Alba Fucensis. There they repelled Antony's agents and declared in favour of Octavian (Livy, *Ep.* 117; Cicero, 3 *Phil.* §§ 6-7).

the protection of the consuls-designate, though I had resolved not to attend the senate before the 1st of January, yet as your edict also was put up on that same day, I thought that it would be shocking either that a meeting of the senate should be held without any mention being made of your brilliant services to the Republic—which would have been the case had I been absent—or that, if anything complimentary to you were said, I should not be there to support it. Accordingly, I went to the senate early, and when that was observed there was a very full house. The motion I made in regard to you in the senate, and the speech I made in a very crowded public meeting, I should prefer your learning from the letters of others.¹ Pray make up your mind that I will ever undertake and support with the greatest zeal every measure tending to enhance your political position, splendid as it already is in itself. I know that I shall have many companions in that policy, yet I shall aim at taking the lead in it.

¹ The speech delivered by Cicero in the senate is that known as the third Philippic, the speech in the public meeting as the fourth Philippic. The speech in the senate ended with a series of resolutions, or rather a resolution in several heads (§§ 37-39) :

- (1) C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, the consuls-designate, are authorized to provide for the protection of the senate on the 1st of January.
- (2) In regard to the edict of Brutus his services are to be commended, and he—like the other governors—is to hold his province for the full term of his appointment by the *lex Iulia*, and until successors are named by the senate.
- (3) The action of Octavian (whom he now calls Gaius Cæsar) in raising the veterans is to be commended, and also that of the Martian and fourth legions, as done in the defence of senate and people.

See also Dio 45, 19, *sq.*

DCCCX (F XII, 22)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME (20-31 DECEMBER)

HERE at Rome we are waging war with the most abandoned gladiator in the world, our colleague¹ Antony, but not on equal terms, for it is words against arms. Nay, he even goes so far as to make speeches against you: but he won't do that with impunity, for he will be made to feel what sort of men he has attacked. For myself, I imagine that all public occurrences are detailed to you in the letters of others: what you should learn from me is the future, as to which the conjecture is not difficult. It is a scene of universal depression: the loyalists have no leader, and our tyrannicides are in remote regions. Pansa both entertains excellent sentiments and speaks with courage. Our friend Hirtius is somewhat slow in recovering his health. What will happen I do not know at all: my one hope, however, is that the Roman people will at last shew itself worthy of its ancestors. I at least will stand by the Republic, and whatever happens—as long as I have nothing for which to blame myself—I will bear with a brave heart. This at least I will do to the best of my ability: I will support your reputation and political position. On the 20th of December a very full meeting of the senate supported my motion, which among other matters of great importance confirmed the retention of the provinces by the actual holders, and prohibited their being handed over to any successors, except those nominated by a decree of the senate.² This motion was made by me in the interests of the Republic, but also, I assure you, with the primary object of sustaining your position. Therefore I beg you for the sake of our affection, I exhort you in the name of the Republic, not to suffer anyone to exercise any jurisdiction in your province,

¹ That is, colleague in the college of augurs. "Gladiator" is the favourite term of abuse of Antony. See 2 *Phil.* §§ 7, 63; p. 136.

² See last letter.

and to act in all respects with an eye to your official position, which is paramount to everything. I will be frank with you, as our friendship demands. If you had obeyed my letter in the case of Sempronius,¹ you would have received the loudest praise from everybody. But that is past and is not very important: but that you should keep your province in its obedience to the Republic is a matter of great gravity.² I would have written more had not your letter-carriers been in a hurry. So please make my excuses to our friend Chærippus.

DCCCXI (F XVI, 26)

QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO

(TIME AND PLACE UNCERTAIN)

I HAVE castigated you, at least with the silent reproach of my thoughts, because this is the second packet that has arrived without a letter from you. You cannot escape the penalty for this crime by your own advocacy: you will have to call Marcus to your aid, and don't be too sure that even he, though he should compose a speech after long study and a great expenditure of midnight oil, would be able to establish your innocence. In plain terms, I beg you to do as I remember my mother used to do. It was her custom to put a seal on wine-jars even when empty to prevent any being labelled empty that had been surreptitiously drained. In the same way I beg you, even if you have nothing to write about, to write all the same, lest you be thought to have

¹ What had happened about Sempronius is not known. Cicero thought that Cornificius had in some way either allowed him to do something illegal, or assume some illegal position in his province. See pp. 186, 193.

² A decree of the senate had transferred the province of Africa to C. Calvisius (3 *Phil.* § 26), but Cicero regards that as cancelled by the resolution moved at the end of his speech on the 20th of December. The other transactions he holds to have been carried out under compulsion from Antony.

sought a cover for idleness: for I always find the news in your letters trustworthy and welcome. Love me, and good-bye.

DCCCXII (F XVI, 27)

QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO (AT ROME)

(FROM THE COUNTRY, LATE IN DECEMBER)

YOUR letter contained a remarkable castigation of my idleness. For what my brother had written in more reserved terms—no doubt from modesty and haste—you have written to me without mincing matters and in accordance with the facts. This is specially the case in regard to the consuls-designate, whom I know thoroughly to be compact of vice and the most womanish weakness. If they do not quit the helm, there is the greatest danger of universal shipwreck. You could scarcely believe what I know of those men having done in the summer camp in face of the Gallic laager. And that ruffian Antony, unless some firm step is taken, will win them over by the infection of his vices. We must make a stand by aid of the tribunes or by an understanding between unofficial persons. For as to those two fellows—they are scarcely fit, the one to have charge of Cæsena, the other of the vaults of Cossutius's wine-shops.¹ You, as I have said, are the apple of my eye. I shall be with you all on the 30th; and as for yourself, if I meet you as I come in the forum itself, I shall cover you with kisses. Love me, and good-bye.

¹ "Hirtius would hardly do to command a small frontier town (Cæsena is on the Rubicon), Pansa can scarcely be trusted to look after wine-cellar, as he is given to drink." Hirtius was the author of the eighth book of the commentaries on the Gallic War, and both he and Pansa were with Cæsar in Gaul, but neither is mentioned in any way. Yet Cæsar must have thought well of them, for he constantly employed and promoted them.

DCCCXIII (F XI, 8)

The last letter from Cicero possessed by us is dated not later than the 27th of July: he was murdered on the 7th of December. For the last four months of his life therefore we have nothing from him to tell us of the events leading up to his death. But up to the battle of Forum Gallorum (15th of April) we have letters from or to Cicero which carry us through the exciting events of the early months. Antony's investment of Decimus Brutus in Mutina: the negotiations between him and the senate, the march to the relief of Mutina of Octavian, and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa successively, and the final battles which compelled or induced Antony to raise the siege of Mutina and march away to Gallia Narbonensis. But it only lets us see the beginning of the subsequent collapse of the senatorial hopes. How Decimus Brutus failed to retain the support of Octavian, and in his vain pursuit of Antony—after being first joined and then deserted by Plancus—found his army melt away, till he lost his own life. How Antony, reinforced by Ventidius Bassus, was joined first by Lentulus and then by Pollio, and finally by Plancus in Narbonensis. How Octavian, having first marched upon Rome and forced an unwilling senate to allow him to be returned consul, then came to terms with Antony and Lepidus, ostensibly to attack whom he had again marched from Rome. How the triumvirate was arranged, nominally as a commission of reform, really to override the constitution itself, and the terrible vengeance the three were to take upon their enemies—and upon the Ciceros among the first. Cicero, though of course he could not foretell the exact course which events were to take, yet well knew that he and his party were in the gravest danger. His one hope was in provincial governors known to be favourable to the constitution and in command of forces—especially Cornificius in Africa, Cassius in Syria, and Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. We find him therefore to the last exhorting them to come to Italy with their troops, that the senate might resist possible attacks from Antony and deal with a free hand with Octavian. But when on Octavian's entry into Rome (August) Cicero made his last despairing effort to collect the senate and organize an opposition, he must have known that all hope was over, and he probably spent the next two months in retirement at Tusculum, till he heard of the triumvirate and the proscription lists. Cicero's literary work was now all over; but the Philippic Speeches (V.-XIV.) belong to the first four months of this year, and represent vividly to us the progressive steps in the quarrel with Antony.

B.C. 43, æt. 63.
Coss., C. Vibius
Pansa, *occis.*,
A. Hirtius,
occis.

C. Iulius Cæsar
Octavianus, *abd.*

C. Carinas,
Q. Pedius,
mort.,
P. Ventidius.

Triumviri,
r. p. c.,
M. Æmilius
Lepidus,
M. Antonius,
C. Iulius Cæsar
Octavianus.

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT MUTINA)

ROME (JANUARY)

YOUR wife Paulla¹ sent a message asking me "whether I had anything to send to you," at a time when I had nothing particular to say. For everything is in a state of suspense because we are waiting for the return of the ambassadors,² of whose success there is as yet no news. However, I thought I ought to write and tell you this much: the senate and people of Rome are very anxious about you, not merely for the sake of their own security, but also for that of your political position. In fact the affection in which your name is held is remarkable, and the love of all the citizens for you is unparalleled. For they rest great hopes in you, and feel confident that as you formerly freed the Republic from a tyrant you will now free it from a tyranny. A levy is being held in Rome and throughout Italy, if it is to be called a levy, when all offer themselves spontaneously. Such is the enthusiasm which has taken possession of men's minds from a yearning for liberty and a loathing for their long-continued slavery. On other matters we ought by this time to be expecting a despatch from you telling us what you and our friend Hirtius are doing, and my dear Cæsar, both of whom I hope will be before long united to you in the fellowship of victory. All that remains for me to say is what I prefer your learning from the letters of your family, as I hope you do—that I am not failing in any particular to support your position, and will never do so.

¹ Paulla Valeria, whom he here calls Polla (cp. *Claudius* and *Clodius*). See vol. ii., p. 116: *Fam.* viii. 7. For her brother Triarius, see vol. iii., p. 221.

² Those sent to Antony while encamped before Mutina. This measure had been proposed on the 1st of January, but successfully resisted by Cicero (fifth Philippic): it was, however, carried on the 6th, and Servius Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus were despatched. Servius Sulpicius died in the course of the negotiations, and the other two brought back a very uncompromising answer. See the eighth Philippic.

DCCCXIV (F XII, 24)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME (JANUARY)

I OMIT no opportunity—as is indeed my bounden duty—not only of sounding your praises, but even of securing you marks of distinction. But my exertions on your behalf I prefer being known to you from the letters of your family rather than from my own. Nevertheless, I exhort you, on your part, to throw yourself heart and soul into the cause of the Republic. This is the proper task of a spirit and a character such as yours: it is this which is called for by the hope, which you ought to entertain, of enhancing your position. But on this point at greater length at another² time. For at the moment of writing this everything is in a state of suspense. The ambassadors have not yet returned, whom the senate sent, not to beg for peace, but to proclaim war in case he did not comply with the message of its emissaries. Nevertheless, as soon as the opportunity was afforded me, I spoke in defence of the constitution in my old style. I put myself forward as a ^{princeps} leader of the senate and Roman people: nor have I since ~~thus~~ undertaking the cause of freedom lost a single moment in supporting the common safety and liberty. But this, too, I should prefer your learning from others. I commend Titus Pinarius to you—my most intimate friend—with an earnestness beyond which I cannot go. I am very much attached to him for all his high qualities as well as for the tastes which we have in common. He is managing the accounts and business affairs of our friend Dionysius, of whom you are very fond, while I regard him as one of the first of men. This recommendation ought not to require any word of mine, yet I make it all the same. Pray therefore let me learn from Pinarius's letters—that most grateful of men—of your kindness both to him and Dionysius.

DCCCXV (F XII, 4)

TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS (IN SYRIA)

ROME, 2 FEBRUARY

I COULD wish that you had invited me to the banquet of the Ides of March: there would have been nothing left over! As it is, your leavings give me much trouble—yes, me more than anybody. Though our consuls are splendid, our consulars are utterly shameful. Though the senate is courageous, it is the lowest in rank that are most so. Nothing, indeed, can surpass the resolute bearing of the people, and of all Italy with one accord. Nothing, on the other hand, can well be more scandalous and unprincipled than our emissaries Philippus and Piso. For having been sent to deliver to Antony certain definite orders, in accordance with the vote of the senate, upon his refusing to comply with one of them, they have brought back to us some intolerable demands on his part.¹ The result is that my house is thronged, and that though I am supporting a sound constitutional measure, I have now become a popular hero.

But what you are doing or intending to do, even where you are, I do not know. Report will have it that you are in Syria. But there is no confirmation of it. About M. Brutus, as he is less remote, news seems more trustworthy. Dolabella is being soundly abused by the wits for being so prompt in relieving you before you had been full thirty days in Syria.² So all are agreed that he ought not to be

¹ This is the subject of the eighth Philippic delivered on the 3rd of February. Antony's *postulata* are discussed in §§ 25-58. They included: (1) amnesty for all proceedings of the past year; (2) confirmation of his consular *acta*; (3) lands for his soldiers; (4) no inquiry as to the money taken from the temple of Ops; (5) the amnesty to include all his agents and friends; (6) the governorship of Gallia Comata for five years with six legions. In return he will give up Gallia Cisalpina.

² Dolabella had spent some time in Asia on his way to Syria. The murder of Trebonius took place on the 2nd of February. He then went on to Syria. The quidnuncs spoke jestingly of his opposition to Cassius

admitted into Syria. You and Brutus are both highly commended because you are thought to have collected an army beyond what was hoped. I would have written at greater length, had I known the facts and the real state of the case. As it is, what I write is founded on common opinion and rumour. I am anxiously longing for a letter from you. Good-bye.

DCCCXVI (F X, 28)

TO GAIUS TREBONIUS (IN ASIA)

ROME, 2 FEBRUARY

How I could wish that you had invited me to that most glorious banquet on the Ides of March! We should have had no leavings! While, as it is, we are having such a trouble with them, that the magnificent service which you men then did the state leaves room for some grumbling. In fact, for Antony's having been taken out of the way by you—the best of men—and that it was by your kindness that this pest still survives, I sometimes do feel, though perhaps I have no right to do so, a little angry with you. For you have left behind an amount of trouble which is greater for me than for everyone else put together.

For as soon as a meeting of the senate could be freely held, after Antony's very undignified departure,¹ I returned to that old courage of mine, which along with that gallant

taking over the province, as though he were “succeeding” to the governorship, without allowing his predecessor even the thirty days beyond his year given him by the Julian law.

¹ When Antony had met the legions from Macedonia at Brundisium, he preceded them with a strong detachment to Rome, arriving between the 15th and 22nd of November, his main body of troops being ordered to muster at Tibur. He ordered in an edict a meeting of the senate on the 23rd, but did not appear, having put off the meeting by another edict to the 28th. He, however, only transacted some formal business—a *supplicatio* in honour of Lepidus, and a *sortitio* of the provinces—and then hurriedly left the city for Tibur, probably on hearing of the desertion of the two legions.

citizen, your father, you ever had upon your lips and in your heart. For the tribunes having summoned the senate for the 20th of December, and having brought a different piece of business before it, I reviewed the situation as a whole, and spoke with the greatest fire, and tried all I could to recall the now languid and wearied senate to its ancient and traditional valour, more by an exhibition of high spirit than of eloquence.¹

This day and this earnest appeal from me were the first things that inspired the Roman people with the hope of recovering its liberty. And had not I supposed that a gazette of the city and of all acts of the senate was transmitted to you, I would have written you out a copy with my own hand, though I have been overpowered with a multiplicity of business. But you will learn all that from others. From me you shall have a brief narrative, and that a mere summary. Our senate is courageous, but the consulars are partly timid, partly disaffected.² We have had a great loss in Servius.³ Lucius Cæsar entertains the most loyal sentiments, but, being Antony's uncle, he refrains from very strong language in the senate. The consuls are splendid. Decimus Brutus is covering himself with glory. The youthful Cæsar is behaving excellently, and I hope he will go on as he has begun. You may at any rate be sure of this—that, had he not speedily enrolled the veterans,⁴ and had not the two legions⁵ transferred themselves from Antony's army to his command, and had not Antony been confronted with that danger, there is no crime or cruelty which he would have omitted to practise. Though I suppose these facts to have been told you, yet I wished you to know them still better. I will write more when I get more leisure.

¹ This is the speech known as the third Philippic.

² Cicero had advocated in the senate on the 1st and following days of January the most uncompromising hostility to Antony, the fullest recognition of Octavian and of the action of the two legions, and of Decimus Brutus. But he could not get his motion passed, the embassy to Antony being voted on the 7th, as a tentative measure before proceeding to extremities.

³ Servius Sulpicius Rufus, who died while on the mission in Antony's camp, near Mutina.

⁴ See p. 145.

⁵ The *Martia* and the *quarta*. See p. 166.

DCCCXVII (F IX, 24)

TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PÆTUS (AT NAPLES)

ROME (FEBRUARY)

YOUR friend Rufus, on whose behalf you have now twice written to me, I would have assisted to the best of my power, even if he had done me an injury, when I saw that you were so anxious in his favour. Since, however, both from your letter and from one which he has himself written to me, I perceive and am convinced that my safety has been a matter of much anxiety to him, I cannot fail to be his friend: and that not solely from your recommendation—which has deservedly the greatest weight with me—but also from my own feeling and deliberate judgment. For I wish you to know, my dear Pætus, that your own letter was the origin of suspicion, caution, and careful inquiry on my part; and I afterwards received other letters from many quarters which were of like tone to yours. For both at Aquinum and Fabrateria plots were laid against me, of which I perceive that you have had some information; and as though these men divined how much trouble I was likely to give them, their design was nothing short of my complete ruin. Being then totally unsuspecting of this, I should have been more off my guard, had I not received this hint from you. Therefore that friend of yours requires no recommendation with me. Heaven send that the future of the Republic be such as to make it possible for him to appreciate my extreme gratitude! But enough of this.

I am sorry to hear that you have given up going out to dinner: for you have deprived yourself of a great source of amusement and pleasure. Again, I am even afraid—you'll allow me to speak frankly—that you will unlearn and partly forget that habit of yours—the giving of little dinners! For if even when you had models on which to form yourself, you made so little progress in the art, what am I to expect

of you now?¹ Spurinna, indeed, when I told him about it and described your former way of living, pointed out the serious danger to the state if you did not recur to your old habits with the first breath of Spring. It might, he said, be endured at this time of year, if you could not stand the cold! But, by Hercules, my dear Pætus, without joking I advise you to cultivate the society of good, agreeable, and affectionate friends, for that is the secret of happiness. Nothing, I say, is more satisfying or contributes more to a happy life. And I do not found this on mere pleasure, but on the social intercourse and companionship, and that unbending of the mind which is best secured by familiar conversation, nowhere found in a more captivating form than at dinner-parties. This is more wisely indicated by us Latins than by the Greeks. The latter talk of *συμπόσια* and *σύνδειπνα*, that is, "drinkings together" and "suppings together," we of "living together" (*convivium*), because in no other circumstance is life more truly lived than in company.² Do you see I am using philosophy to try and lure you back to dinners? Take care of your health: that you will secure with least difficulty by dining out. But pray, as you love me, don't suppose that because I write jestingly I have cast off all care for the state. Be assured, my dear Pætus, that I work for nothing, care for nothing all day and night except the safety and freedom of my fellow citizens. I omit no occasion of warning, pleading, adopting precautions. In fact, my feeling is that, if I have to give my very life to this task and to pushing these measures, I shall think myself supremely fortunate. Good-bye! Good-bye!

¹ Playful irony, for Pætus gave good though not extravagant dinners (vol. iii., p. 98).

² Cicero is quoting from his own essay on Old Age. See *de Sen.* § 45. For his liking for dinner-parties, see vol. iii., p. 103.

DCCCXVIII (F XII, 5)

TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS (IN SYRIA)

ROME (FEBRUARY)

I SUPPOSE that the winter has as yet prevented us from getting any certain news from you, as to what you are doing, and above all where you are. Nevertheless, it is the general talk—the wish, no doubt, is father to the thought—that you are in Syria and in possession of forces. That statement finds the readier belief that it seems likely in itself. Our friend Brutus for his part has gained a brilliant reputation: for his achievements have been so great and unexpected that, while welcome in themselves, their distinction was enhanced by their rapidity.¹ But if you command the extent of territory which we suppose, the Republic has gained very strong supports. For from the nearest shore of Greece as far as Egypt we shall have been put under the protection of the authority and forces of the most loyal citizens. However, unless I am mistaken, as the situation now stands, the ultimate decision of the whole war seems to rest with Decimus Brutus. If he, as we hope, breaks out from Mutina, I think there will be a complete collapse of the war. The forces at present besieging him are very small, because Antony is occupying Bononia with a large army. Our friend Hirtius, moreover, is at Claterna,² Cæsar at Forum Cornelium, both with a strong army; while Pansa has collected large forces at Rome from the levy in Italy. Winter has at present prevented any movement. Hirtius seems likely to do nothing, as he tells me in frequent letters, without careful preparation. Except Bononia, Regium Lepidi, and Parma, we have the whole of Gaul devoted heart and soul to the constitution. Even your clients the Transpadani we find attached to the cause with

¹ Referring to M. Brutus having collected an army, occupied Greece, Macedonia, and Illyricum (App. B. C. iii. 79; Dio, 47, 21 sq.).

² Modern *Quaderna*, on the Æmilian road between Forum Cornelium and Bononia (Bologna).

surprising unanimity. The senate, with the exception of the consulars, is most resolute,¹ but of the consulars Lucius Cæsar alone is loyal and honest. By the death of Servius Sulpicius we have lost a great support. For the rest, some are inactive and some disloyal. A certain number are envious of the reputation of those whom they see to be held in honour in the Republic. But the unanimity of the Roman people and the whole of Italy is wonderful. This is pretty well all which I wanted you to know. My present hope and prayer is that the sun of your valour may shine forth from those regions of the East.

DCCCXIX (F XII, II)

GAIUS CASSIUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

TARICHEA (PALESTINE), 7 MARCH

IF you are well, I am glad. I and the army are well. I have to inform you that I went to Syria to join the imperators Lucius Murcus and Quintus Crispus. Those gallant gentlemen and excellent citizens, having heard what was going on at Rome, handed over their armies to me and are themselves now assisting me with the greatest gallantry in the public service. Also I have to report that the legion which was under the command of Quintus Cæcilius Bassus² has joined me, and that the four legions which Aulus Allienus led from Egypt have also been handed over to me. In these circumstances I do not think that you require urging to defend me in my absence and the public interests, as far as in you lies. I wish you to know that neither you nor the senate are with-

¹ The surviving consulars were in several cases those who had owed their promotion to Cæsar.

² See vol. iii., p. 335. Crispus and Murcus had been sent with proconsular authority by Cæsar to put down Bassus. Allienus was a *legatus* of Trebonius (11 *Phil.* § 30). Cassius says nothing of the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella, but he must have known it by this time.

out trustworthy support to enable you to defend the constitution with the highest hopes and the firmest courage. Of the rest you will be informed by Lucius Carteijs, my intimate friend. Good-bye.

7 March, in camp at Tarichea.

DCCCXX (F XII, 7)

TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS (IN SYRIA)

ROME (EARLY IN MARCH)

WITH what zeal I have defended your political position, both in the senate and before the people, I would rather you learnt from your family than from me: and my proposal would have been carried in the senate, had it not been for the strong opposition of Pansa.¹ After having made that proposal in the senate I was introduced to a public meeting by the tribune M. Servilius. I said what I could about you in a voice loud enough to fill the whole forum, and with such cheering and acclamation from the people, that I have never seen anything like it. Pray pardon me for acting in this against the wish of your mother-in-law.² The lady is timid and was afraid of Pansa's feelings being hurt. In the public meeting in fact Pansa stated that your own mother also and your brother were against my making that motion. But I was not moved by these things. My mind was set on other objects. It was the Republic of which I was thinking, of which I have always thought, and of your position and glory. Now I hope that you will redeem the pledges which I gave both in senate and before the people at considerable length. For I promised and almost pledged myself that you had not waited and would not wait for any decrees of ours, but would

¹ The proposal of Calenus supported in the eleventh Philippic, delivered in the senate after the news of the murder of Trebonius, intrusting the war against Dolabella, already declared a public enemy, to Cassius. The *contio* on the same subject to which Cicero alludes, has not been preserved. They were delivered early in March.

² Servilia, whose daughter Tertia was the wife of Cassius.

yourself defend the constitution in your own way. And although we have not yet had any intelligence either of where you are or what forces you have, yet I have made up my mind that all the resources and troops in that part of the world are in your hands, and feel confident that by your means the province of Asia has been already recovered for the Republic. Take care to surpass yourself in promoting your own glory. Good-bye.

DCCCXXI (F X, 31)

FROM C. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO
(AT ROME)

CORDUBA, 16 MARCH

You ought not to think it at all surprising that I have written nothing to you on public affairs since war broke out. For the pass of the Castulonian Mountains, which has always delayed my letter-carriers, though it has now become still more dangerous from the increase of banditti, is yet by no means so grave a hindrance as the parties which, stationed at every available position at both ends, spy out my letter-carriers and detain them.¹ Accordingly, if I didn't get letters by sea, I should be entirely ignorant of what was going on at Rome. Now, however, having got an opportunity, since navigation has begun,² I shall write to you with the greatest eagerness and as frequently as I can. There is no danger of my being affected by the conversation of the man,³ whom

¹ It is not clear whom Pollio means. Lepidus was in possession of the northern province of Spain and of Narbonensis, and might intercept letters coming from the south for Italy that way, and letter-carriers starting from Rome might be stopped nearer the city by Antony or some of his followers.

² Vegetius (*Res Mil.* v. 9) reckons the close season, during which ordinary navigation was suspended, as from 3rd November to 5th March. But see p. 287.

³ We cannot be sure who is meant. It is evidently some one with Pollio, and not Antony, as has been generally thought, and some one

—though there is no one who can bear the sight of him—men can yet never hate as much as he deserves. For he is so utterly detestable in my eyes that everything I have to do with him is odious to me. Moreover, my actual disposition and pursuits incline me to desire peace and liberty. Accordingly, I have often bitterly mourned over that first step in the civil war. Since, however, it was impossible for me to be neutral, because I had bitter enemies on both sides, I shunned the camp, in which I knew for certain that I should not be safe from the plots of my personal enemy.¹ Being thus compelled to go to the last place to which I desired to go, that I might not be lost in the crowd, I boldly confronted dangers without any hesitation. To Cæsar, indeed, who regarded me as one of his oldest friends, though he had not known me until he had reached his own splendid position, I was attached with the utmost devotion and fidelity. What I was permitted to do in harmony with my own opinion I did in such a manner as to procure the warmest approbation of all the best men. When I acted under orders, I did so with so much deliberation and in such a spirit as made it evident that I was an unwilling recipient of the commands. But the wholly undeserved odium roused by my conduct sufficed to teach me the charm of liberty and the wretchedness of life under a tyranny. Accordingly, if the object of the present proceedings is to bring everything once more under the power of a single person, whoever he is, I avow myself his enemy: nor is there any danger which I would shun or deprecate on behalf of liberty. But the consuls have neither by senatorial decree nor by despatch given me any instructions as to what I was to do. For I have only received one despatch from Pansa, and that not till the 15th of March, in which he urges me to write a letter to the senate declaring that I and my army will be at its disposal. But seeing that Lepidus was making speeches and

against whom Cicero had warned Pollio. It may be—as has been suggested—his fraudulent quæstor Balbus. See Letter DCCCXCIII.

¹ There is no means of deciding what particular person Pollio means. We have heard of his prosecuting Gaius Cato (vol. i., p. 281); and Quintilian mentions a speech against Labienus. But Pollio was a great orator, and may have prosecuted many persons and thus made enemies.

writing to tell everybody that he was at one with Antony, this was the most awkward possible step for me to take. For by what roads was I to lead my legions through his province against his will? Or if I had effected the rest of the journey, could I take wings and fly over the Alps, which are occupied by his force? Add to this the impossibility of a despatch getting through on any terms: for letter-carriers are examined in countless places, and finally are even detained by Lepidus. No one will question the sincerity of my public pronouncement at Corduba, that I would hand over the province to no one who did not arrive with a commission from the senate. For why need I describe the violent controversies I have had about handing over the thirtieth legion? And if I had handed it over, who does not know how much less effective in serving the state I was likely to be? For I assure you that it is the most gallant and best fighting legion in existence. Wherefore make up your mind that I am, to begin with, a man most strongly in favour of peace—for I am seriously desirous that all citizens should be unmolested—and in the second place one prepared to assert my own and the state's freedom alike. Your admitting my friend into the list of yours is more gratifying to me than you can think: yet I am envious of his walking and jesting with you. You will ask me how much I value that. If ever I am allowed to enjoy leisure you shall find out from experience: for I will never budge a step from your side. One thing does profoundly surprise me—that you have never written to tell me whether I could better serve the Republic by remaining in my province or by leading my army into Italy. For my part, though it is safer and less laborious to remain, yet because I see that at such a crisis there is much more occasion for legions than for provinces (especially such as can be recovered without difficulty) I have resolved, as things are now, to start with my army. For the rest, you will learn everything from my despatch to Pansa, for I am inclosing a copy of it for your perusal.

16 March, Corduba.

DCCCXXII (F XII, 25, §§ 1-5)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME (ABOUT THE 20TH OF MARCH)

ON the 17th of March I received your letter, which your son handed to me on the 21st day—as he said—from its despatch. Neither on that nor the following day was there any meeting of the senate. On the Quinquatrus Minervæ (19th of March) before a full house I pleaded your cause—not unfavoured by Minerva herself. For in fact on that very day the senate decreed that my statue of Minerva, which a storm had thrown down, should be restored.¹ Pansa read your despatch. It was followed by strong expression of approval from the senate, to my great joy and the great chagrin of the “Minotaur”—I mean Calvisius and Taurus;² and a decree was passed about you in complimentary terms. A demand was even made that these men should have some stigma inflicted upon them, but Pansa was for milder measures. For myself, my dear Cornificius, on the day (the 20th of December) on which I first conceived a hope of freedom and, while everybody else shrank from beginning, laid the foundations of a recovered constitution—on that very day, I say, I made careful provision and calculation for the maintenance of your position. For it was for my motion as to the retention of the provinces³ that the senate voted. Nor indeed did I subsequently cease from discrediting the man, who to your great injury and to the discredit of the Republic

¹ Cicero uses the common phrase *non invita Minerva*, “not without success” (vol. i., p. 363), in order to bring in the double reference to the feast of Minerva (*quinquatrus Minervæ*) and to the statue or bust of Minerva which he had dedicated on the Capitol before he went into exile, as a guardian goddess of the city. See *de Leg.* ii. § 42.

² As to Calvisius, appointed to succeed Sulpicius, see p. 139. T. Statilius Taurus had been named his *legatus*. The senate now confirmed Sulpicius in the province of Africa.

³ See p. 167-168.

was retaining the province, though he had himself left it.¹ Accordingly, he was unable to stand out against my frequent, or rather daily attacks upon him, and unwillingly returned to Rome: and was driven not from a mere hope, but from what was now a certainty and an actual possession, by my most righteous and dignified invective. That you have employed your eminent courage in successfully retaining your position, and have been complimented by the greatest honours a province can bestow, is a subject of lively satisfaction to me.

As to your defence of yourself in regard to Sempronius,² I accept your explanation; for that was a dark period of servitude. I, the supporter of your policy and champion of your position, enraged at the position of affairs and despairing of freedom, was on the point of hurrying off to Greece, when the Etesian winds, like loyal citizens, refused to further me in my desertion of the Republic, and a south wind blowing in my teeth carried me back by his strongest blast to your fellow tribesmen of Rhegium. And so from thence I hurried at full speed—sail and oar together—to my country; and the day after my arrival was the one free man in a nation of slaves.³ I delivered such an invective against Antony⁴ that he could not bear it, and vented all his vinous madness on my devoted head,⁵ and endeavoured at one time to entice me to give him an excuse for bloodshed, at another tried to entrap me. But I hunted him belching and vomiting into the toils of Cæsar Octavianus. For that illustrious youth collected for himself a protecting force—at first in favour of our party, and subsequently in that of the supreme state. And if it hadn't been for him, Antony's return from Brundisium⁶ would have sealed the fate of Rome. The events which followed I think you know. But to return to the point from which I have strayed. I accept your explanation as to

¹ C. Calvisius made provision for retaining the province of Africa by leaving two of his legates there. See p. 160; 3 *Phil.* § 26.

² See *ante*, p. 169.

³ Because he refused Antony's summons to the senate on the 1st of September.

⁴ The first Philippic on the 2nd of September.

⁵ In the carefully prepared speech of the 19th of September (p. 136).

⁶ Where he had been to meet the legions.

Sempronius : for you could have no fixed principle of procedure in the midst of such complete disorganization.

“But time has passed and taught a different way ;
And nobler manners asks our nobler day,”

as Terence says.¹ Wherefore, my dear Quintus, embark with us, and even approach the helm. All loyalists are now in the same boat, which we are doing our best to keep in the straight course. Pray heaven for a prosperous voyage ! But whatever the winds may be, skill on my part at least shall not be wanting : for to what beyond that can virtue pledge itself ? For your part keep a good heart and lofty spirit, and reflect that your whole position must needs stand and fall with the Republic.

DCCCXXIII (F X, 6)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GAUL)

ROME, 20 MARCH

WHAT our friend Furnius reported as to your disposition towards the Republic was highly pleasing to the senate and most cordially approved of by the Roman people. But your despatch, which was read in the senate, did not seem at all to harmonize with the verbal report of Furnius. For you are for peace, though that illustrious man your colleague² is being actually besieged by the most abandoned outlaws, who ought to beg for peace after laying down their arms ; or if they demand it with arms in their hands, we must attain that peace by victory, not by making terms. But how your despatch about peace, or that of Lepidus, has been received you will be able to learn from that honourable man your brother,³ and from Gaius Furnius. However, my affection for you has

¹ Terence, *Andr.* 189.

² Decimus Brutus with Plancus was consul-designate for B.C. 42.

³ Gnæus Munatius Plancus, who was a prætor this year. Hence Cicero mentions him with the complimentary *viro optimo*, almost “his excellency.”

made me anxious that, although you are not yourself wanting in sagacity, and although you have the goodwill and loyal wisdom of your brother and Furnius ever at your side, yet, considering the many ties between us, some injunction should reach you with the *cachet* of my authority also. Well then believe me, my dear Plancus, that all the steps in official promotion which you have hitherto attained—and they are of the most honourable nature—will convey nothing but the empty titles of office without the true marks of dignity, unless you throw in your lot with the liberty of the Roman people and the authority of the senate. Separate yourself, I beseech you, at length from those to whom you have been bound, not by your own deliberate judgment, but by the chains of circumstance. Many in the confusion of public affairs have received the title of consulars, not one of whom is regarded as really a consular, unless he has shewn the true spirit of a consular towards the state. This is the sort of man that you are bound to be, first in withdrawing yourself from association with disloyal citizens extremely unlike yourself; next in giving your services as supporter, champion, leader to the senate and the whole loyalist party; and lastly in making up your mind that peace does not consist in merely laying aside arms, but in dispelling the fear of arms and slavery. If this is your policy and these your sentiments, you will not only be a consul and a consular, but also a great consul and a great consular. If not, in these splendid titles of office there will not only be no dignity, there will be the extremity of dishonour. Under the influence of my warm feeling for you I write these words with somewhat unusual gravity. But you will find them to be true, if you put them to the test of practice—the only method worthy of you.

20 March.

DCCCXXIV (F X, 27)

TO MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS (IN NARBONENSIS)

ROME, 20 MARCH

SINCE from my extreme goodwill to you it is a matter of much concern to me that you should enjoy the most splendid political position possible, I was much vexed that you did not thank the senate, though you had been complimented by that body with its highest honours.¹ I am rejoiced that you are desirous of promoting peace between fellow citizens; but if you keep it free from servitude you will be acting in the interests both of the state and of your own position. But if the peace of which you speak is to put an unprincipled person once more in possession of unrestricted tyranny, let me assure you that all sound-feeling men are resolved to prefer death to slavery. So in my opinion you will be acting with more wisdom if you do not commit yourself to promoting a pacification, which has the approval of neither senate, nor people, nor any loyalist. But you will be told this by others or will be informed of it by letter. Your own good sense will shew you what is best to be done.

DCCCXXIV A (13 PHIL. §§ 22-46)

M. ANTONIUS TO HIRTIUS AND CÆSAR²

THE CAMP AT MUTINA (MARCH)

THE news of the death of Gaius Trebonius caused me as much regret as joy. One cannot help being glad that a

¹ A *supplicatio* in November (3 *Phil.* § 23); a triumph and gilded chair on the 1st of January (5 *Phil.* § 41; 13 *Phil.* § 9). For his wish for peace, see p. 187.

² This letter is not included in the Cicero correspondence; yet he

wicked wretch has given satisfaction to the ashes and bones of a most illustrious man, and that Divine Providence has manifested its power before the end of one revolving year in the punishment, or immediate prospect of the punishment, of parricide. On the other hand, one cannot repress a sigh that Dolabella at such a time as this should be adjudged a public enemy for having killed a murderer; and that the Roman people should care more for the son of a mere man-about-town than for Gaius Cæsar. But the most painful thing of all, Aulus Hirtius, is that you who were ennobled by the favours of Cæsar and left by him in a position which surprises yourself—and that you, young sir, who owe everything to his name—are acting in a way to sanction Dolabella's condemnation and to release this pestilent fellow from his state of siege. In order, I suppose, that Brutus and Cassius may be all-powerful! The fact is, you regard the present situation as you did the former, when you used to speak of Pompey's camp as "the senate." You have taken Cicero as your leader, who was beaten then; you are strengthening Macedonia with troops; you have intrusted Africa to Varus, who had been twice made a prisoner; you have sent Cassius to Syria; you have allowed Casca to be tribune; you have withdrawn the revenue given by Iulius to the Luperi;¹ you have by decree of the senate abolished colonies of veterans which were established by law; you are promising the Massilians to refund what was taken from them by the right of war;² you give out that no living Pompeian comes under the *lex Hirtia*;³ you have supplied M. Brutus with money sent by Appuleius;⁴ you have commended the executions of Petrus

had a copy of it which he read in the senate on the 20th of March, when there was a proposal made to send a second embassy to Antony. Cicero accompanied it with a running comment of abuse, meant to shew that it was hopeless to deal with Antony. It puts forcibly Antony's case, and therefore I have thought it well to insert it here. It is extracted from the thirteenth Philippic.

¹ The *Lupercalia* had been falling into disrepute, but were revived by Iulius and the Luperi endowed. See vol. iii., p. 89.

² See p. 30.

³ A law, perhaps passed when Hirtius was prætor or *præfectus* in B.C. 46, to exclude Pompeians from office. But it is not certain.

⁴ Appuleius was quæstor in Asia (App. B. C. iii. 63; Plut. *Brut.* 24, 25).

and Menedemus,¹ who were presented with the citizenship and were beloved by Cæsar. You have taken no notice of the expulsion of Theopompus by Trebonius and of his flying stripped of everything to Alexandria; you have Servius Galba in your camp armed with the self-same dagger.² You have got together an army of soldiers who are either legally mine, or who have served their time, on the pretext of destroying the murderers of Cæsar, and yet have forced them contrary to their expectations to assist in endangering the lives of their own quæstor or commander or fellow soldiers. In fact what have you not consented to or done which Gnæus Pompeius would do, if he could come to life again, or his son if he could regain his home? Lastly, you say that there can be no peace, unless I either allow Decimus Brutus to march out or supply him with corn. Do you mean to tell me that this is the opinion of the veterans who have not yet committed themselves, even though *you* have been corrupted by flattery and insidious gifts to come here? But, you will say, it is besieged soldiers that you are attempting to relieve. Them I have no objection to spare and to allow to go wherever you order them, on the one condition that they give *him*³ up to the death he has so richly deserved. You say in your letter that mention has been made in the senate of a pacification, and that five consulars have been appointed as legates. It is difficult to believe that the men who violently repelled me, though I offered the most equitable terms, and was thinking nevertheless of mitigating even them, should be entertaining any thoughts of moderation or be likely to act with common charity. It is scarcely likely even that men who have declared Dolabella a public enemy for a most righteous act should be capable of sparing us who are at one with him in heart.

Wherefore I would have you consider which of the two courses is in the better taste and the more advantageous to your party—to punish the death of Trebonius or that of Cæsar: and whether it is more right that we should meet as foes and so allow the Pompeian cause so often defeated to revive, or that we should come to terms and so avoid being a laughing-

¹ See pp. 51, 57. Cicero declares that the senate knew nothing about the case.

² That is, with which he killed Cæsar.

³ Decimus Brutus.

stock to our enemies, who will be the gainers whichever of us perishes? Such a spectacle as this Fortune herself as yet has shunned. She has not seen, that is, two armies of the same body politic fighting like gladiators with Cicero for a trainer, who has been so far successful as to deceive you both by the same formal honours by which he has boasted of having deceived Cæsar.¹ For my part I am resolved not to submit to the degradation of myself or my friends, nor to desert the party which Pompey hated, nor to allow the veterans to be turned out of their homes, nor to be dragged off one by one to punishment, nor to break the faith which I pledged to Dolabella, nor to violate my compact with that devoted patriot Lepidus, nor to betray Plancus who is a sharer in my policy.

If the immortal gods, as I hope they will, aid me in my plain and honest course, I shall survive with satisfaction to myself; but if a different fate awaits me, I feel an anticipatory pleasure in the punishment which will befall you. For if the Pompeians are so arrogant in defeat, I would rather you than I should experience what they will be in victory. In fact the upshot of my decision is this: I am ready to put up with the injuries done to my party, if they will either consent to forget that they are Cæsar's assassins, or are prepared to join us in avenging his death. I cannot believe in legates approaching a place which is being at the same time menaced by war. When they have arrived I shall learn their demands.

DCCCXXV (F XII, 28)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME (MARCH)

I AGREE with you that the men whom you say in your letter are threatening Lilybæum ought to have been punished on

¹ An allusion to the *ornandum*, *laudandum*, *tollendum* epigram, for which see Letter DCCCLXXIV.

the spot ; but you feared, you say, being thought to be giving too free a rein to vengeance. That is as much as to say, you feared being thought a high-minded citizen, too courageous, too worthy of yourself. I am obliged to you for renewing the partnership with me—inherited from your father—in working for the best interests of the state. That partnership, my dear Cornificius, will always be kept up between us. I am obliged also by your thinking that I needed no thanks on your behalf. For there ought to be no question of thanks between you and me. The senate would have been more frequently called upon to compliment you, if in the absence of the consuls it had been ever summoned except for the consideration of some fresh complication. Accordingly, neither in the business of the 20 sester tia, nor of the 700 sester tia, can anything be now done in the senate. I think, however, that in virtue of the original senatorial decree¹ you must raise the money by impost or loan. What is going on in political matters I expect you know from the letters of those whose duty it is to send you copies of the *acta*. I am in good heart. In prudence, vigilance, and labour I am not wanting. To all enemies of the constitution I avow my most uncompromising hostility. Even now the situation does not appear to be a very difficult one, and it would have been quite free from difficulty had it not been for misconduct in certain quarters.²

[The three following letters of introduction to Cornificius probably belong to the early part of this year, but cannot be dated.]

¹ The senatorial decree which settled the expenses of a provincial governor (*de ornanda provincia*).

² He probably means Plancus and Lepidus, who had both advised that some terms should be come to with Antony rather than use their forces in support of Decimus Brutus against him. He may also refer to the consulars in the senate, of whom he has complained before.

DCCCXXVI (F XII, 26)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME

QUINTUS TURIUS, who was a banker in Africa, a good and honourable man, made certain men of like character to himself his heirs—Gnæus Saturninus, Sextus Aufidius, Quintus Considius Gallus, Lucius Servilius Postumus, Gaius Rubellius. From what these men have said to me, I have gathered that what they require is a letter of thanks rather than of recommendation. For they spoke of having experienced such great kindness at your hands, that I came to the conclusion that you had already done more for them than I should venture to ask. However, I will venture: for I know how much weight a recommendation of mine has with you. Therefore I beg you to allow the liberality, which you have already displayed without any letter from me, to receive a finishing touch as complete as possible by this one. The chief point, however, of my recommendation is that you should not allow Eros Turius, the freedman of Quintus Turius, to possess himself of the property left by the latter, as up to the present time he has done; and that you should regard these men in all other matters as most warmly commended by me. You will derive much pleasure from their high position and grateful attentions. I beg you repeatedly to be kind enough to do this.

DCCCXXVII (F XII, 27)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME

SEXTUS AUFIDIUS does not leave my closest friends far behind in the attentions which he shews to me, and in social distinction is second to no Roman knight. His character, too, is so nicely balanced and tempered, that the strictest decorum is in him united with the most large-hearted kindness. I commend this man's African business to you with a warmth and heartiness beyond which I cannot go in such a commendation. You will be doing me a very great favour, if you will take the trouble to make him understand that my letter has had very great influence with you. I earnestly beg you, my dear Cornificius, to do so.

DCCCXXVIII (F XII, 29)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME

Not you only, who are most intimately acquainted with all my concerns, but nobody in all Rome I think is ignorant of the great friendship existing between me and Lucius Lamia. For it was displayed before a large audience at the time of his being banished from the city¹ by the consul Aulus Gabinius for having supported my recall with freedom and courage. Nor was that the first origin of our affection, but it was just because of its long standing and depth that he did not hesitate to confront any danger on my behalf. To these acts of kindness, or, as I should rather call them, these

¹ See p. 285.

claims upon my gratitude, an intimate intercourse is to be added, so exceedingly charming, that there is literally no one in whom I take more delight. I do not suppose in these circumstances that you are at a loss to imagine what the terms of my commendation of him will be. For you know well what words are the natural expression of such a strong affection. Consider me to have employed them all. I would merely wish to assure you that if you support Lamia's business, agents, freedmen, or slaves in anything whatever that they may require, you will be obliging me more than if that kindness of yours had affected my own property. Nor do I doubt that even without a recommendation from me you—who are so excellent a judge of men—are certain to do everything with enthusiasm for Lamia's own sake. However, I have been told that you think Lamia assisted in drawing up some senatorial decree¹ which militated against your position. But the fact is, he did not assist in drawing up any decree whatever in that consulship.² In the next place, all kinds of bogus decrees were at that time being deposited in the *ærarium*,³ unless you should actually suppose that I assisted in drawing up that decree about Sempronius⁴—though I wasn't even in town, as I told you in my letter about it at the time just after it occurred. But enough of this. I beg you repeatedly, my dear Cornificius, to look upon all business of Lamia's as mine, and take pains to make him understand that this commendation has been of great service to him. You cannot oblige me more. Take care of your health.

¹ See vol. ii., p. 76. The decree referred to is very likely that giving the province to Calvisius. See p. 185.

² In B.C. 44, in the consulship of Antony and Dolabella.

³ See vol. ii., p. 194; vol. iii., p. 107.

⁴ See pp. 160, 186. I think it is more probable that this refers to some decree affecting Cornificius's treatment of this man Sempronius, and not to a decree moved by Sempronius. But we know nothing about it.

DCCCXXIX (F X, 7)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT
ROME)

GALLIA COMATA (23 MARCH)

I WOULD have written you a longer letter about my plans and given you an account of all my movements in greater detail, to convince you more fully that I have done everything for the Republic which your exhortation first suggested to me, and which I took upon myself to perform—for I always wished for your approval as much as for your love, and did not so much secure you as my defender in case of committing a fault, as wish for you as a trumpeter of my services—but two circumstances make me more brief. The first is that I have fully stated everything in my public despatch. The second is that I have ordered Marcus Varisidius, a Roman knight and my intimate friend, to go home in person and visit you: so that from him you might learn every particular. I can assure you on my honour that I have been feeling very considerable vexation at seeing others anticipating me in the winning of reputation; but I have put a restraint upon myself until I could succeed in doing something worthy both of my consulship and of what you and your friends expect of me. And, if fortune does not play me false, I hope I shall succeed in making men feel now and remember hereafter that I have been a very great protection to the constitution. I beg you to give firm support to my position, and to make me still more energetic in the future by the actual fruition of those advantages, by the hope of which you inspired me to aim at glory. I feel convinced that your power is as great as your will. See that you keep well and return my affection.

DCCCXXX (F X, 8)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO THE MAGISTRATES
AND SENATE

GALLIA COMATA (23 MARCH)

PLANCUS, *imperator*, consul-designate, greets the consuls, prætors, tribunes of the plebs, the senate, the people and commons of Rome.

In case anyone thinks that I have kept public expectation and the hopes of the state as to my disposition too long in suspense, I think I must offer an explanation to such a man before proceeding to promise anything to anybody as to my future services. For I do not wish to have the appearance of having made up for a previous error, but to be delivering in the fullness of time the long-cherished sentiments of a loyal heart. It did not escape me that at a time of such profound public anxiety and such great political confusion the profession of loyal sentiments is a most profitable thing to make, and I saw that a considerable number of people had secured high honours by that means. But since fortune had brought me to such a pass as to force me to choose between making premature promises, and thereby of my own act raising up formidable obstacles to the accomplishment of any useful service, or putting a restraint upon myself in that respect, and thereby having better opportunities of rendering aid, I chose a course better calculated to secure the public safety than my own reputation. For who is there that in the high position I at present enjoy, and after a life such as I think the world knows mine to have been, and with the prospects which I actually possess, could submit to anything degrading or set his heart upon anything likely to be mischievous? But I required a considerable time, heavy labours, and great expense in order finally to make good my promises to the Republic and all loyal citizens, and in order not to approach the task of

aiding my country with no equipment except good intentions, but with the requisite resources. I had to secure the loyalty of my army, which had been often tampered with by the offer of great bounties, and to persuade it to look to the state for moderate rewards, rather than to a single person for unlimited ones. The loyalty also of numerous tribes had to be secured, which in the previous year¹ had been laid under obligations by bounties and grants of compensations; and they had to be convinced that such rewards were shadowy, and that they must try to obtain the same privileges from more constitutional sources. I had also to sound the intentions of the other commanders of neighbouring provinces and armies, and induce them to join me in championing freedom in conjunction with the majority, rather than that we should share with the minority a victory disastrous to the world at large. Moreover, I had to take precautions for my own safety by increasing my army and multiplying the number of my auxiliaries, in order that, while making no secret of my sentiments, I might yet incur no danger by its being publicly known, even though some objected, which side I meant to embrace. Accordingly, I shall never deny that, in order to arrive at the accomplishment of these designs, I have, contrary to my inclinations, pretended to feelings that I did not entertain, and with pain dissembled those that I did. For I saw from what had befallen my colleague the danger of a premature revelation of intentions by a loyal but unprepared citizen.

On this account I have given my legate Gaius Furnius—a gallant and energetic officer—still fuller instructions by word of mouth than are contained in this despatch, to the end that they might reach you with greater secrecy, and I might remain in greater security. And I have instructed him as to what is required for strengthening the public safety and properly equipping myself. And from this it may be understood that the care of the defence of our country's highest interests has not for long past been suffered to sleep in my

¹ Plancus had been preceded in the governorship of Gallia Comata by Hirtius, who, however, had not gone there in person, but had governed by a *legatus* (see p. 16). Immediately after the death of Cæsar, Antony had apparently taken means to secure the fidelity of the Gauls to himself.

breast. By the blessing of heaven we are now in a better state of preparation in every particular, and we wish all the world not merely to have good hopes, but to feel certain, of us. I have five legions under colours, united by their own loyalty and excellence to the Republic with the most absolute fidelity, and at the same time devoted to me in response to my liberal treatment of them. I have a province in the best possible state from the unanimous consent of all its tribes, and inspired by the keenest emulation in its display of loyalty. My cavalry and auxiliary forces are as numerous as the tribes in this country can raise in defence of their own safety and liberty. For myself I am fully prepared either to defend my province, or to go wheresoever the Republic calls me, or to hand over army, auxiliaries, and province. Or I would not even decline to bear the whole brunt of the war in my own person, provided that by my own disaster I might secure the safety of my country or delay its danger. If I am making these promises when all difficulties have been already solved, and the political crisis is over, I shall rejoice in the benefit to my country, though I thereby lose my chance of earning reputation. But if I am to find myself involved in a share of dangers still at their most unabated height, I commend the defence of my policy to impartial judges against the detraction of the envious. As for the reward of my own services, that is sufficiently secured in the safety of the state. Yet I think I ought to ask you to regard as commended to your consideration those who have followed my lead, and still more their duty to you, and have been proof against the deception of any promises or the terror of any threats.

DCCCXXXI (F X, 10)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GALLIA
COMATA)

ROME, 30 MARCH

THOUGH I had been fully informed by our friend Furnius as to your sentiments and your policy in regard to the Republic, yet the perusal of your letter has enabled me to form a clearer judgment of your whole mind. Wherefore, though the entire fortune of the state is depending on the result of one battle—which I think by the time that you read these words will have been already decided—yet by the mere report of your sentiments which has gained currency you have earned great applause. Accordingly, if we had had a consul at Rome, the senate would have put on record in terms highly complimentary to you how much your contemplated movement and the preparations you have made are appreciated. And for that the time has not only not passed, but in my opinion is not even yet fully ripe. For in my eyes the only compliment worthy the name is that which is offered and given to illustrious men, not in hope of future advantage, but for important services actually rendered. Wherefore, if only some form of a state exists in which the light of honour is capable of displaying its brightness, there are no honours, believe me, however splendid, with which you will not be lavishly endowed. Now this honour, which can be truly so called, is not meant to impart a momentary impulse, but is the reward of unvarying excellence. Wherefore, my dear Plancus, throw yourself heart and soul into the pursuit of glory: come to your country's rescue; relieve your colleague; support the unanimous desire and the wonderfully united aspiration of all nations. You will find in me a supporter of your policy, a promoter of your dignity, in every particular your most loving and faithful friend. For to the other reasons for our being united by love, mutual

good services, and long habit, there is now added devotion to our country: and that has been sufficient to make me prefer your life to my own.

30 March.

DCCCXXXII (F XII, I)

TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS (IN SYRIA)

ROME (1-7 APRIL)

THE political situation at the time of my writing these lines you will learn from Gaius Titius Strabo, a man of character and of the most excellent political sentiments: I need not add "and very desirous of your company," for he has left the country to join you in preference to everyone else, abandoning house and fortune. His own arrival will be a sufficient recommendation of him in your eyes. I would have you realize the fact and have no doubt about it, that the only chance of finding refuge left for loyalists depends on you and Brutus, in the case—which I hope may not occur—of any reverse being sustained. At the moment of my writing the decisive moment has arrived. For Decimus Brutus is at his last gasp at Mutina: if he has been relieved, the victory is ours. But if not—which God forbid!—we shall all of us hurry with one accord to you. Therefore be prepared in courage and material forces for the great task of recovering the constitution in its full completeness. Good-bye.

DCCCXXXIII (BRUT. II, I)

TO MARCUS IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (MARCH-APRIL)

AT the time of my writing this it is thought that the decisive hour has arrived. For melancholy despatches and messages are arriving about our friend Decimus Brutus. For my part I am not excessively alarmed by them, for I cannot possibly distrust such armies and leaders as we now have. Nor do I agree with the majority of people: for I do not think ill of the loyalty of the consuls, which has been the subject of great suspicion. In certain particulars I do find them wanting in prudence and promptitude. If they had displayed those qualities we should long ago have recovered the constitution. For you are not ignorant of the importance of times and seasons in public affairs, and what a difference it makes whether the same thing is settled, undertaken, carried out before or after a particular period. If all the decrees expressed in severe language during this civil disturbance had been passed on the day on which I spoke in their favour, and had not been postponed from day to day, or not been delayed and put off from the moment that their execution was undertaken, we should not now be at war. I have made good, Brutus, every duty to the state, to which a man was bound, who occupied the station in which I have been placed by the judgment of the senate and people. And I am not speaking now of those duties which alone, of course, can be positively demanded of every human being—good faith, vigilance, patriotism. Such duties there is no one who is not bound to make good. But I think that a man who speaks among the leading members of the senate is bound to display wisdom also. And since I have involved myself in the heavy responsibility of taking the helm of state, I should think myself no less deserving of reproach, if it was against its true interests that I advised the senate, than if I did so with insincerity. All things actually

transacted, or which are in the course of being transacted, I know are carefully written out for your benefit. But there is one thing I should like you to learn from me—that my heart is at the seat of war, and seeks no means of retreat, unless it chance that the interest of the state compels me to do so. The feelings of the majority, however, look to you and Cassius. Wherefore, my dear Brutus, prepare yourself to believe that, if at this time a success is achieved, you will have to reform the constitution; if a reverse is sustained, your task will be its restoration.

DCCCXXXIV (BRUT. II, 3)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

DYRRACHIUM, 1 APRIL

I AM anxiously expecting the letter which you wrote after you received the news of my movements and of the death of Trebonius.¹ For I feel certain that you will expound your plan of action. By a shocking crime we have at once lost a most loyal citizen and have been driven from the possession of a province, the recovery of which is easy. But its subsequent recovery will not relieve the scandal and crime. Antonius² is still in my camp; but, on my honour, I am much affected by the man's entreaties, and I fear a violent outbreak in some quarter may carry him off. I am really distracted with indecision. But if I knew your opinion, I should cease to be anxious: for I should be persuaded that it was the best thing to be done. Wherefore at the earliest possible moment let me know what your opinion is. Our friend Cassius holds Syria and the legions stationed in it, having indeed been actually invited

¹ The murder of Trebonius by Dolabella. See pp. 189, 210.

² Gaius Antonius, to whom his brother had caused the senate to transfer the province of Macedonia from himself, having previously transferred it from M. Brutus, who had been nominated by Cæsar. Brutus had seized him and was keeping him prisoner.

to come by Murcus, Marcius, and the army itself. I have written to my sister Tertia and my mother, not to publish this most admirable and fortunate achievement of Cassius before they knew what your advice was and you thought it right. I have read two of your speeches, one delivered on the 1st of January, the other against Calenus. You are, of course, waiting for my praise of them at this time of day! I cannot decide whether it is your courage or your genius that is the more admirably displayed in these pamphlets. I quite agree in their having even the title of *Philippics* by which you jestingly described them in one of your letters.¹

The two things which I want are money and more men. The latter—the sending some part of the soldiers now in Italy to me—you can accomplish either by a secret arrangement with Pansa or by bringing the matter before the senate. The former can be got from the senate direct. This is still more necessary, and not more so for my army than for that of the other commanders. This makes me the more regret that we have lost Asia: which I am told is being so harassed by Dolabella that his murder of Trebonius no longer appears the most cruel thing he has done. Antistius Vetus,² however, has come to my aid with money. Your son Cicero is giving me such satisfaction by his industry, endurance, hard work, and high courage, in short, by every kind of service, that he seems to me never to forget for a moment whose son he is. Therefore, as I cannot by any possibility think more highly than I already do of one who is the dearest object of your affection, pay my sagacity the compliment of believing that he will not have to trade upon your reputation for the attainment of the same offices as his father held before him.

1 April, Dyrrachium.

¹ The letter containing this jest of Cicero's is lost. The title *Philippics* was the current one by the time of Juvenal at any rate (x. 125), and Plutarch (*Cic.* 24) says that Cicero himself placed that title on the copies. Against this the authority of Aulus Gellius (vii. 11; xiii. 1, 21), who calls them *Orationes Antonianæ*, is not worth much.

² Vetus apparently brought the money sent by Appuleius the quæstor from Asia. See pp. 190, 224.

DCCCXXXV (F X, 12)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GALLIA
COMATA)

ROME, 11 APRIL

ALTHOUGH on public grounds I ought to be extremely rejoiced that you have given the state so much protection and so much aid in what is almost a desperate crisis, yet while I shall embrace you with my whole heart as conqueror if the constitution be restored, still what causes me a great part of my joy is the position you occupy, which I perceive is and will be of the most splendid kind. For do not imagine that any despatch was ever read in the senate which gave greater satisfaction than yours.¹ And that was the result not only of what I may call the brilliancy of your services to the Republic, but also of the loftiness of your language and sentiments. To me, indeed, it was nothing new, for I knew you, remembered the promises contained in your private letter to myself, and had a thorough acquaintance with your views from our friend Furnius. But to the senate your words seemed beyond what they had expected, not because it had ever doubted your good intentions, but because it had not thoroughly realized how much you could do nor how far you were willing to go. Accordingly, when Marcus Varisidius handed me your letter early in the morning of the 7th of April, and I had read it, I felt an amazing thrill of joy; and as a great crowd of the most distinguished men and citizens were escorting me from my house, I at once made them all sharers in my pleasure. Meanwhile our friend Munatius came as usual to see me. Well, I handed him your letter, for as yet he knew nothing about you, Varisidius

¹ This is Letter DCCCXXX. I think, if Cicero had not been blinded by his extreme desire for the loyalty of Plancus, he would have seen in that despatch the coming treason. It protests too much, and yet avoids really committing the writer. But in spite of Cicero's compliments to Plancus, he probably had his misgivings.

having come to me before anyone else, saying that such were your orders. A little later Munatius also allowed me to read the letter you had sent him, as well as your public despatch. We decided to transmit the despatch at once to the city prætor Cornutus, who, in the absence of the consuls, was, according to traditional custom, performing the consular functions. A meeting of the senate was at once summoned, and there was a large attendance, owing to the rumour and general anticipation in regard to your despatch. After your despatch had been read a religious difficulty was suggested to Cornutus, because the *pullarii* informed him that he had not taken the auspices with the proper formalities, and that was confirmed by our augural college. Accordingly, business was postponed to the next day. Well, on that day I had a warm debate with Servilius¹ in defence of your position. He had exercised his influence to get his motion put first, but a large majority of senators quitted him and voted directly against it. But when my motion, which was put second, was being largely supported, at the request of Servilius it was vetoed by P. Titius. The business was deferred till the next day. Servilius came prepared "to fight Jupiter himself,"² in whose temple the debate was to be held. How I crushed him, and with what fiery eloquence I brought the vetoing Titius upon his knees, I would rather you learnt from the letters of others. Take this one fact from mine. The senate could not have been more resolute and firm or better disposed to your glory than it was on this occasion. Not that the senate is a bit more friendly to you than the whole body of citizens. For there is a surprising unanimity of feeling among the entire Roman people, with the united aspiration of all conditions and classes, in favour of recovering the public liberty. Go on, then, as you have begun, to make your name immortal! And as for all those empty shows of glory, founded on the most unsubstantial badges of external splendour, despise them; and regard them as short-lived, counterfeit, and perishable.³ True glory rests on virtue,

¹ P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, Cæsar's colleague in the consulship of B.C. 48. Cicero thought him too lukewarm in his condemnation of the party of Antony (9 *Phil.* §§ 7, 11).

² For this proverbial expression, see vol. ii., p. 307.

³ The vote of thanks seems to have been successfully resisted by the

which is shewn to the highest advantage by services done to the state. You have the most excellent opportunity for performing these. Since you have embraced it and still possess it, see that the state owes you as much as you owe the state. You will find in me not only a supporter of your high position, but a promoter of its increase. That much I think I owe both to the Republic, which is dearer to me than life itself, and to our friendship. And in these exertions, which I have consecrated to the support of your position, I have found a great pleasure in the still clearer view I have gained of the wisdom and loyalty of Titus Munatius¹—though I knew these before—as displayed in his extraordinary devotion and activity in your service.

11 April.

DCCCXXXVI (BRUT. II, 2)

TO MARCUS IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME, 11 APRIL

You have had the opportunity of learning Plancus's splendid loyalty to the Republic, his legions, auxiliaries, and forces from his own letter, a copy of which I think has been sent to you. The fickleness and inconstancy of your relative Lepidus, who, next to his own brother,² holds his relations by marriage³ as his deadliest foes, and his feelings perpetually hostile to the constitution, I think you have clearly perceived from the letters of your family. As for me, I am restlessly waiting for news. The decisive hour is upon us: for our whole hope depends on relieving Decimus Brutus, for whom I am greatly alarmed. Here in Rome I have my

tribune Titius. Cicero wishes to make Plancus look upon it as unimportant. It probably, however, contributed to confirm his intention of joining Antony, as he eventually did.

¹ Brother of L. Plancus, the recipient of these letters.

² L. Æmilius Paullus, who was afterwards put on the proscription lists by the triumvirs with at any rate the consent of his brother.

³ Lepidus was married to Iunia, half-sister to Brutus; Cassius to Tertia, her sister.

hands full with that madman Servilius.¹ I have endured him longer than is consistent with my position, but I have done so for the sake of the Republic, for fear of giving unprincipled citizens some one—who, lunatic as he is, is yet a man of rank—round whom to rally. They are doing so none the less, and I do not think that he is a man who ought to be wholly alienated from the Republic. But I have come to the end of my tolerance of him. For he has begun giving himself such airs, that he regards no one as free. In the case of Plancus, however, he flamed up with extraordinary anger, and for two days maintained so fierce a controversy with me, and was so crushed by me, that I hope I have permanently brought him to a more reasonable frame of mind. In the midst of this controversy too, on the 9th of April, a letter was handed to me in the senate from our friend Lentulus,² telling me about Cassius, about his legions, and about Syria. I immediately read it aloud, whereupon Servilius and several besides looked somewhat small. For there are a good many distinguished men who cherish the most disloyal sentiments: but what annoyed Servilius most bitterly was that the senate agreed to my motion about Plancus. It is a portentous thing in the Republic, but to what end . . .³

DCCCXXXVII (BRUT. II, 4)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (AT DYRRACHIUM)

ROME, 12 APRIL

AFTER I had given Scaptius a letter for you on the morning of the 11th of April, I received one from you in the evening of the same day, dated from Dyrrachium on the 1st of April. Accordingly, on the morning of the 12th, having been informed by Scaptius that the men to whom I had

¹ See p. 207.² Quæstor of Trebonius in Asia. See pp. 272-280.³ The rest of the letter has been lost.

given the letter the day before had not started and were going at once, I have dashed off this brief note in the midst of the turmoil of my morning *levée*. I am delighted with the news about Cassius, and I congratulate the Republic, and also myself, for having proposed in the senate, in spite of Pansa's opposition and anger, that Cassius should make war upon Dolabella.¹ And indeed I boldly maintained that he was already engaged in that war without any decree of ours. About you also I said on that occasion what I thought ought to be said. This speech² shall be transmitted to you, since I perceive that you like my "Philippics." You ask my advice as to Gaius Antonius: my opinion is that he should be kept under arrest till we know the fate of Decimus Brutus. From the letter you addressed to me it appears that Dolabella is harassing Asia and behaving in a most abominable manner there. You have mentioned also to several people that Dolabella has been prevented from landing by the Rhodians. But if he has approached Rhodes, I think he must have abandoned Asia. If that is so, I think you should stay where you are. But if he once gets a hold of that province, believe me it will not be right for you to do so, but I think you will have to go to Asia to attack him. As to your saying that you are in want of two necessary things—money and more men—it is difficult to see what to suggest. For I can't think of any resources upon which you can draw, except those which the senate has assigned to you by its decree—that you should raise loans from the cities. As to more men also, I do not see what can possibly be done. For so far from Pansa

¹ Trebonius, who had gone as governor of Asia soon after the murder of Caesar, was avowedly collecting troops and money and fortifying towns with a view of supporting the tyrannicides. When Dolabella arrived at Smyrna on his way to Syria he was still consul, but Trebonius declined to admit him there or at Pergamus. Dolabella went on his way to Ephesus, followed by a body of men whom Trebonius sent to watch him. He, however, laid a trap for them, captured or killed them, and, hurrying back to Smyrna, surprised and captured Trebonius, who according to one story was at once put to death, and according to another was tortured for two days first. On news of this reaching Rome, Dolabella was on the motion of Cicero declared a *hostis*, and Cassius was authorized to wage war against him (11 *Phil.* § 29, sq.; Appian, *B. C.* iii. 26).

² The eleventh Philippic.

sparing you any of his own army or levy, he is even annoyed that so many are going to you as volunteers: because, as I believe, he thinks that he cannot have too great a force; but, as many suspect, because he doesn't wish you to be too strong either. But this is a suspicion which I do not share. You say in your letter that you have written to Tertia and your mother not to disclose the achievements of Cassius until I think it right.¹ I understand your motive to be a fear lest the feelings of Cæsar's party—as that party is still called—should be violently affected. But before your letter was received, the facts had been heard and were quite public property. Your letter-carriers also had brought letters to many of your intimate friends. Therefore there is no need to suppress the truth, especially as it is impossible to do so. Besides, even if it had been possible, I should have thought that it should be spread broadcast rather than be kept concealed. As to my son, if he has all the good in him which you describe, I am of course as delighted as I am bound to be, and if you exaggerate it from affection for him, the mere fact of your being attached to him rejoices me more than I can say.

DCCCXXXVIII (F X, 30)

SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA TO CICERO
(AT ROME)

CAMP NEAR MUTINA, 16 APRIL

ON the 15th of April, the day on which Pansa was to arrive at the camp of Hirtius, with the former of whom I was—for I had gone along the road a hundred miles to hasten his arrival—Antony brought out two legions, the second and the thirty-fifth, and two prætorian cohorts, one his own and the other that of Silanus, and a party of reservists. He confronted us with such a force because he thought that we had only four legions of recruits. But in the course of the

¹ See p. 205.

night, in order to enable us to reach the camp in greater safety, Hirtius had sent us the Martian legion—which I usually command—and two prætorian cohorts. As soon as Antony's horsemen came in sight, neither the Martian legion nor the cavalry could be held back. The rest of us were obliged to follow them, as we could not stop them. Antony was keeping his men under cover at Forum Gallorum, and did not wish it to be known that he had the legions. He was allowing none but his cavalry and light-armed men to be seen. When Pansa saw that the legion was advancing in spite of him, he ordered two legions of recruits to follow his lead. As soon as we had got past the narrow ground of marsh and forest, our line was drawn up, consisting of twelve cohorts. The two legions had not yet come up. All on a sudden Antony brought his forces out of the village on to the field, and without waiting charged. At first the fighting was as keen as it was possible for it to be on both sides: although the right wing, on which I was with eight cohorts of the Martian legion, had at the first brush put Antony's thirty-fifth legion to flight, so that it advanced more than five hundred paces beyond the line from its original ground. Accordingly, when the cavalry attempted to outflank our wing, I began to retire and to throw my light-armed troops in the way of the Moorish cavalry, to prevent their charging my men in the rear. Meanwhile, I became conscious that I was between two bodies of Antony's troops, and that Antony was himself some way on my rear. I at once galloped towards the legion of recruits that was on its way up from camp, with my shield slung behind my back. Antony's men set off in pursuit of me; while our own men began pouring in a volley of *pila*. It was a stroke of good luck that I got safely out of it, for I was soon recognized by our men. On the Æmilian road itself, where Cæsar's prætorian cohort was stationed, the fight was protracted. The left wing, being somewhat weak, consisting of two cohorts of the Martian legion and a prætorian cohort, began to give ground, because it was in danger of being outflanked by the cavalry, in which Antony is exceedingly strong. When all our lines had retired, I began retiring myself towards the camp on the extreme rear. Antony, regarding himself as having won the victory, thought that he could capture our

camp. But when he reached it he lost a large number of men without accomplishing anything. The news having reached Hirtius, he met Antony as he was returning to his own camp with twenty veteran cohorts, and destroyed or put to flight his whole force, on the same ground as the battle had been fought, namely, at Forum Gallorum. Antony, with his cavalry, reached his camp near Mutina at the fourth hour after sunset. Hirtius returned to the camp, from which Pansa had issued, where he had left the two legions which had been assaulted by Antony. Thus Antony has lost the greater part of his veteran forces. This, however, naturally could not be accomplished without some loss in our prætorian cohorts and the Martian legion. Two eagles and sixty colours of Antony's have been brought in. It is a great victory.

16 April, in camp.

DCCCXXXIX (BRUT. II, 5)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (AT DYRRACHIUM)

ROME, 16 APRIL

I BELIEVE that your friends—to not one of whom do I yield in affection to you—have written to tell you what despatches were read in the senate on the 13th of April from you, and at the same time from Antony. But though there was no need for us all to repeat the same story, yet it is necessary that I should write and tell you my feeling, deliberate opinion, and sentiments as to the nature of this war generally. My object, Brutus, in imperial politics has always been the same as your own: my policy in certain points—not in all—has perhaps been somewhat more drastic. You know that it was always my opinion that the Republic should be delivered not only from a tyrant but from a tyranny also.¹ You took a more indulgent view—to

¹ That is, that Antony should have shared the fate of Cæsar. See pp. 174, 214, etc.

your own undying honour, no doubt. But which was the better course we have felt to our bitter sorrow, and are still feeling to our grave peril. More recently you have directed all your efforts to secure peace—which could not be brought about by mere words—I to secure liberty, which is impossible without peace.¹ But my view was that peace itself could be brought about by war and arms. There was no want of enthusiasts who were eager to fight, but we checked their enthusiasm and damped their ardour. And so it had come to such a pass that, had not some god inspired Cæsar Octavianus with that resolution, we must necessarily have fallen under the power of Marcus Antonius, the most abandoned and depraved of men, with whom you see at this very moment in what a desperate contest we are engaged. Now that, of course, would never have occurred if Antony had not been spared at that time.² But I pass over these reflexions: for the deed which you performed—ever memorable and all but divine—disarms all criticism, for it is one which can never be even praised in terms adequate to its merit.

You lately came to the front again with a look of stern resolve. In a brief time you collected by your unaided exertions an army, forces, sufficient legions. Great heavens! What a message, what a despatch!³ What exultation was there in the senate, what an outburst of cheerfulness in the city! I never saw anything praised with such complete unanimity. There was some anxiety about the remnants of Antony's forces, whom you had deprived for the most part of his cavalry and legions. But that was happily relieved. For your next despatch, which was read in the senate, clearly sets forth the excellence both of com-

¹ Cicero puts the converse in 2 *Phil.* § 113, when he says that "peace is liberty without war," *pax est tranquilla libertas*.

² That is, when Cæsar was murdered. Cicero still labours under the delusion that the revolution all depended on one man. If Antony had been murdered on the Ides of March, were there no others ready to play his part, and still more ably? Augustus is the best answer. It is well to observe how little mere assassination has ever been able to effect in political movements.

³ The despatch in which Brutus announced that he had taken possession of Macedonia, and was beleaguering Gaius Antonius in Apollonia (see 10 *Phil.* § 26). A second despatch announced his capture.

mander and soldiers, and the good service done by your staff—among others, by my son.¹ And if your friends here had thought it right that a motion should be brought before the senate in consequence of this despatch, and had it not come at a time of great confusion, just after the departure of the consul Pansa, a regular vote of thanks and one due to the immortal gods would have been passed.

Lo and behold, on the 13th of April, early in the morning comes Pilius Celer in hot haste—what a man, good heavens! How trustworthy and consistent! What an honest politician! He brings two letters, one in your name, a second in that of Antony. He hands them to the tribune Sevilius. Sevilius passed them on to Cornutus.² They are read in the senate. "ANTONIUS PROCONSUL!"—There was as much surprise expressed as though the words read had been "DOLABELLA IMPERATOR"; from whom indeed letter-carriers have arrived, but no one of the position of Pilius to venture to produce a despatch and to hand it to the magistrates.³ Your despatch is read. It was short indeed, but very indulgent in its reference to Antonius. The senate was greatly astonished. And I could not see my way clearly as to what I ought to do. Was I to declare it a forgery? What if you had acknowledged it? Was I to assert its genuineness? That will be a reflexion on your official position. So I let that day pass without saying anything. But next day, when there had begun to be much talk about it, and Pilius had made himself offensively conspicuous, the first step was after all taken by me. I said a great deal about "the proconsul" Antonius. Sestius backed me up.

¹ Young Cicero is said to have defeated Gaius Antonius in an engagement at Byllis, near Apollonia (Plutarch, *Brut.* 26).

² Who was *prætor urbanus* (p. 207), and therefore presided in the senate in the absence of the consuls.

³ The province of Macedonia had been assigned during Cæsar's life to Brutus, probably by a *lex*. After his death Antony induced the senate to nominate himself (App. *B. C.* iii. 24). Later on in B.C. 44, by a *lex* proposed by a tribune, Cisalpine Gaul was transferred to Antony (App. iii. 30). Macedonia was therefore vacant, and a *sortitio* held in the senate on the 28th of November gave it to Gaius Antonius (3 *Phil.* § 26). As a matter of fact, however, the outgoing proconsul Q. Hortensius had handed over his province and army to Brutus (Plut. *Brut.* 25), and the senate, now under Cicero's influence, would only acknowledge Brutus as proconsul. For *Dolabella*, see p. 210.

Afterwards, in private conversation with me, he dwelt on the danger he inferred for his own son and mine if they bore arms against "a proconsul." You know the sort of man he is. However, he did not shrink from supporting the contention.¹ Others also spoke. Our friend Labeo, for instance, remarked that there was neither any seal of yours on the despatch, nor any date affixed, and that you had not written to your friends, as was your custom.² By this he meant to argue that the despatch was a forgery, and, if you would know the truth, he was thought to be convincing.

Now, Brutus, you must take into consideration the whole question of the war. I notice that you take pleasure in lenient measures, and think that the most advantageous line to take. It is an admirable sentiment: but it is for other circumstances and other times that a place for clemency generally is and ought to be reserved. As things are now, Brutus, what is actually being done? The hope of the needy and the ruined is the plunder of the temples of the immortal gods; and what depends upon the issue of this war is neither more nor less than our bare existence. Who is it that we are sparing, or what is our object? Are we then consulting for the interests of those, whose victory means that not a trace of us will be left? For what difference is there between Dolabella and any one of the three Antonies? If we spare any of the latter, we have been harsh in the case of Dolabella. That the senate and Roman people take this view is partly the result of the mere facts of the case, but for the most part has been brought about by my advice and influence. If you disapprove this policy, I will speak up for your opinion, but I shall not abandon my own. From you men expect neither weakness nor cruelty. An obvious mean between these is that you should be stern to the leaders, placable to the soldiers. I should like my son, my dear Brutus, to be as much as possible by your side.

¹ That is, the contention (*causa*) that M. Brutus was the legal proconsul in Macedonia.

² That is, that the bearer of the public despatch brought no private letters at the same time, as we have seen was the almost invariable custom. For as there was no postal services, such messengers were always used for this purpose. It was a good argument against the genuineness of the letter.

He will find no better school of virtue than the contemplation and imitation of you.

16 April.

DCCCXL (BRUT. I, 2, §§ 3-6)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (AT DYRRACHIUM)

ROME, 17 APRIL

I REJOICE that you have found the army and cavalry well affected to you. About Dolabella, as you remark, you will inform me if you hear any news. In regard to this, I am pleased to think that I foresaw how independent your judgment would be as to making war on Dolabella. That, as I saw clearly at the time, was of great importance to the state, and, as I now am of opinion, of great importance to your own position.

You say in your letter that I have not hurried myself¹ at all in making attacks on the Antonies; and you go on to commend me for it. I have no doubt that you think so; but I can in no sense admit the justice of the distinction you draw, when you say that more vigour should be used in preventing civil wars, than in wreaking vengeance upon the vanquished. I strongly differ from you, Brutus, and I do not admit your clemency doctrine. A salutary sternness is superior to the empty show of clemency. But if we choose the rôle of clemency we shall never have any lack of civil wars. However, that is more your concern than mine. For myself I can say, like the father in the *Trinummus* of Plautus,²

“My time is all but past: ’tis you this most concerns.”

You will be crushed, believe me, Brutus, unless you take

¹ *Me maximo otio egisse.* I doubt the soundness of the text, and the meaning of it as it stands. Whatever compliments Cicero may deserve, mildness in regard to the Antonies can scarcely be one of them.

² Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 2, 42.

proper precautions. For you won't always have the same people, nor the same senate, nor the same leader of the senate. Regard these words as uttered by the oracle of the Pythian Apollo. Nothing can be truer.

17 April.

DCCCXLI (BRUT. I, 3, §§ 1-3)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (AT DYRRACHIUM)

ROME, 21 APRIL

OUR cause seems in a better position: for I feel sure that you have had letters telling you what has happened.¹ The consuls have shewn themselves to be the sort of men I have often described them in my letters. In the youthful Cæsar indeed there is a surprising natural strain of virtue. Pray heaven we may govern him in the flush of honours and popularity as easily as we have held him up to this time! That is certainly a more difficult thing, but nevertheless I have no mistrust. For the young man has been convinced, and chiefly by my arguments, that our safety is his work, and that at least, if he had not diverted Antony from the city, all would have been lost.² Three or four days indeed before this glorious news, the city, struck by a sudden panic,³ was for pouring out with wives and children to seek you. The same city on the 20th of April, with its fears all dispelled, would rather that you came here than go to you. On that day in very truth I reaped the most abundant

¹ The victory of Forum Gallorum See p. 211 *sq.*

² Cicero argues that Octavian's consciousness of having done the loyalists a good service will attach him the more to them. He will be unwilling to forfeit the good opinion he has earned. He little knew Octavian and his secret purposes.

³ This appears to have been caused by the action of the prætor Ventidius Bassus, who enrolled two legions of veterans, and was supposed to be coming to Rome to seize Cicero and the leading opponents of Antony. He, however, marched to Ariminum, and succeeded in joining Antony after the battle by a splendid march across country to Vado (Appian, *B. C.* iii. 66).

harvest of my great labours and my many sleepless nights—that is, at least, if there is a harvest in genuine and well-grounded glory. For I was surrounded by a concourse of people as great as our city can contain, by whom I was escorted to the Capitol and placed upon the rostra¹ amidst the loudest cheers and applause. I have no vanity in me—and indeed I ought to have none: yet after all a unanimous feeling of all orders, thanks, and congratulations do move my heart, because it is a thing to be proud of that in the hour of the people's preservation I should be the people's hero. But these things I would rather you heard from others. Pray inform me of your own doings and plans with the greatest exactness; and do be careful that your generosity does not bear the appearance of weakness.² This is the sentiment of the senate, and of the people, that no enemies ever more richly deserved condign punishment than those citizens who have taken up arms against their country in this war. Indeed in every speech I make in the senate I call for vengeance upon them and attack them amidst the applause of all loyal citizens. What your view of this is I must leave you to judge for yourself: my opinion is that all three brothers stand on one and the same ground.

DCCCXLII (F X, 9)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT
ROME)

NEAR VIENNE IN GALLIA NARBONENSIS (27 APRIL)

I AM glad that I made no rash promise to you, and that you did not pledge yourself to anything for me without good

¹ The *rostra* of course was not on the Capitol, and this has been put forward as an argument against the genuineness of the letter. I think Cicero may be putting the story shortly. The procession first went to the Capitol to offer thanks to Jupiter, and then came down to the forum to be addressed from the rostra.

² That is, in sparing Gaius Antonius. See p. 215.

ground. At any rate you have the stronger evidence of my affection for you in the fact that I wished my plans to be known to you sooner than to anyone else. I hope you clearly perceive that additions to my services are being made every day. I undertake that you shall know it still better. As far as I am concerned, my dear Cicero—as surely as I hope that the state may be relieved through me of the evils that threaten it—though I regard with respect the rewards and honours which you senators have it in your power to bestow—worthy surely to be compared with immortality—yet even without them I am not likely to slacken at all in my zeal and persistence. Unless in the crowd of the most loyal citizens my enthusiasm has been conspicuous and my exertion eminent, I do not desire any accession to my honour by the votes of your house. I covet no honour for myself—it is against such covetousness that I am myself fighting. I am quite content that you should have the decision both of its amount and of its season. A citizen can never think honour paid him by his country either too late or insufficient. I got my army across the Rhone on the 26th of April by forced marches. I sent forward a thousand cavalry from Vienne by a shorter route. If I am not delayed by Lepidus, I shall myself leave nothing to be desired in the way of speed. If, however, he puts himself across my line of march, I shall take such measures as seem necessary. I am bringing a force thoroughly satisfactory as to numbers, nature, and loyalty. I beg you for your affection, as you know that it will be only mutual.

DCCCXLIII (BRUT. I, 3, § 4)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (AT DYRRACHIUM)

ROME, 27 APRIL

WE have lost two consuls—good men enough; yes, at any rate good men. As for Hirtius, he fell in the moment of

victory,¹ having also won a great battle only a few days before. For Pansa had retreated, after receiving wounds which put him out of action.² Decimus Brutus and Cæsar are in pursuit of the remnants of the enemy.³ All, moreover, have been declared "enemies," who followed the party of Antony: and that decree of the senate most people interpret as applying also to those whom you have captured or who have surrendered to you. For my part I refrained from urging any severity, though I proposed a decree referring to Gaius Antonius by name: for I had made up my mind that the senate ought to be informed by you of the merits of his case.

27 April.

DCCCXLIV (F XI, 9)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

REGIUM LEPIDI, 29 APRIL

WHAT a loss the Republic has sustained by the death of Pansa you must be well aware. In these circumstances you must use your influence and foresight to prevent our opponents hoping to regain their strength now that the consuls have been removed. I will take care that Antony is unable to keep any footing in Italy. I am following him in hot haste. I hope that I shall secure two things—that Ventidius does not slip past me⁴ nor Antony remain in Italy. I specially beg you to send instructions to that shiftiest of men Lepidus, that he may not be in a position to renew the war against me if Antony effects a

¹ In storming Antony's camp a week after the battle of Forum Gallorum (21st April).

² Pansa appears to have retired wounded to Bononia after the battle. It is rather remarkable that Galba says nothing of his being wounded in Letter DCCCXXXVIII.

³ It turned out that Cæsar had refused to join Decimus Brutus in the pursuit of Antony.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 218. Ventidius Bassus, as we have seen, did get past Decimus and join Antony.

junction with him. For as to Asinius Pollio, I think you are quite clear as to what he will do. The legions of Lepidus and Asinius are numerous, good, and strong. And I don't write this to you because I know that the same facts escape your notice, but because I am most thoroughly convinced that Lepidus will never go straight—should you by chance have any doubt on that point! I beg you also to keep Plancus up to the mark, who will—I hope—stick to the Republic now that Antony has been defeated. If Antony has got himself across the Alps, I have resolved to station a force on the Alps and to keep you informed of everything.

29 April, in camp at Regium.¹

[The next day's march of Decimus Brutus ended at Parma. There he found that Antony had been some days before him, and had plundered the town to supply his army. Two words of a despatch from Parma—*Parmenses miserri-mos*, "Oh most wretched people of Parma"—are preserved and numbered in some editions *Fam.* xi. 13 b. See p. 288; 14 *Phil.* § 9.]

DCCCXLV (F X, 11)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

GALLIA NARBONENSIS (APRIL)

I GIVE you undying thanks, and shall do so as long as I live: since I cannot promise to repay you. For I do not think that I can possibly make a return for such great services as yours, unless by chance, as you remarked in such eloquent and impressive words in your letter, you will consider me to have repaid you as long as I remember them. If it had been a question of your own son's position, you could not have acted at any rate more affectionately. Your first

¹ Regium Lepidi, mod. *Reggio*, on the Æmilian road between Mutina and Parma.

motions in the senate proposing unlimited rewards for me, your later ones made to square with circumstances and the wishes of my friends, your constant and formal speeches about me, and your wordy-warfare on my behalf with my detractors—these are all most thoroughly known to me. I must be more than commonly careful to shew myself as a citizen worthy of your praise, mindful and grateful as your friend. For the future see that your bounty is not wasted; and if by results and facts you find that I am the man you wished me to be, defend me and take up my cause. Having crossed the Rhone with my troops, and having sent forward my brother with 3,000 cavalry, while I was myself on the march for Mutina, I was told on the road of the battle that had taken place, and of Brutus and Mutina being relieved. I saw that Antony and the remains of his force had no other place of retreat except in this district, and that he had two hopes in view—one of Lepidus himself, the other of his army. As a certain fraction of my army is as infatuated as those who were with Antony, I recalled my cavalry. I halted in the country of the Allobroges myself, that I might be as completely prepared for every eventuality as the situation required. If Antony comes into this district without forces, I think I am strong enough by myself to resist him, and to carry on the business of the country in accordance with the judgment of your house, even though he be admitted by the army of Lepidus. But if he brings some of his forces with him, and if the tenth veteran legion, which, having been recalled to its duty by my exertion, is now with the others, relapses into its old mad conduct, nevertheless I will do my best to prevent any loss; and I hope I shall prevent it, provided that forces from Rome are sent across, and by forming a junction with me find it easier to crush these abandoned men. This much I will promise you, my dear Cicero, that no vigour or careful attention shall be wanting on my part. I would to heaven there was no anxiety left, but if there is, I will not fall short of any man's loyalty or perseverance on behalf of you all. I am indeed doing my best to induce Lepidus to share this policy with me, and I am promising to defer to him in every way, if he will only consent to regard the interests of the Republic. I am employing as coadjutors and go-betweens in this negotiation

my brother, and Laterensis, and our friend Furnius. I will not be stopped by private quarrels from coming to an understanding with my bitterest foe on behalf of the safety of the Republic. But if I am unsuccessful, nevertheless I will do what you wish with the greatest determination, and perhaps with some addition of reputation to myself. Take care of your health, and give me love for love.

DCCCXLVI (BRUT. I, 11)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

DYRRACHIUM (MAY)

ANTISTIUS VETUS is so devoted to the Republic that I feel no doubt of his shewing himself in the case both of Cæsar and Antony a most determined champion of the common liberty, if he ever gets the opportunity. For the man who, meeting P. Dolabella in Achaia in possession of infantry and cavalry, preferred incurring any danger from the treachery of an utterly unscrupulous outlaw to being thought either to have been compelled to give money, or to have given it voluntarily to a most abandoned and unprincipled man—he, I say, has not only promised but has paid us 2,000 sester tia out of his own pocket, and, what is much more valuable, has presented himself in person and has joined us.¹ I have been desirous to persuade him to remain in my camp in military command and to support the Republic. But he has made up his mind that he is bound to go home after having dismissed his army. He assured us, however, that he would return promptly in the position of *legatus*,² unless the consuls intended holding the prætorian

¹ Vetus had evidently brought to Brutus what was properly public money. It may be the C. Antistius Vetus who in the previous year was in Syria engaged in attacking Cæcilius Bassus. See p. 15.

² I do not think this can mean a *libera legatio*. Vetus was going home apparently to stand for the prætorship. If he could not get that, owing to the elections being suspended in the absence of the consuls, he would accept the office of *legatus* under Brutus.

elections; for with a man of his political views, I was urgent that he should not postpone the time of his canvass. What this man has done ought to be approved by everybody, at any rate by those who believe that this army is of great moment to the state, by you all the more so in proportion as you defend our liberty with greater spirit and fame, and are sure to enjoy a higher position if the result of our plans is what we desire it to be. I also ask you, my dear Cicero, as a personal favour, and with the confidence of a friend, to love Vetus and to desire the highest promotion for him. For though nothing can turn him from his purpose, he will yet be capable of being incited by your praises and kindness still more to embrace and hold fast your principles. I shall be very grateful if it is so.

DCCCXLVII (F XII, 25, §§ 6-7)

TO QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME (MAY)

YOU recommend P. Lucceius to me, whom I will assist in whatever ways I shall have the power. Yes indeed, it is a most unfortunate time in which to have lost our colleagues¹ Hirtius and Pansa, whose consular administration was beneficial to the Republic, when, though relieved from the Antonian violence, it has not yet been put on a thoroughly sound footing. For my part, if the power is given me, I shall continue to defend it, though by this time I am desperately weary. But no amount of fatigue ought to stand in the way of duty and honour. However, enough of this. I would rather you learnt about me from others than myself. What I hear of you exactly answers to my wishes. About Cn. Minucius, whom in one of your letters you praised to the skies, there are somewhat unfavourable rumours. What the truth of the matter is, and in general what is going on in your province, please let me know.

¹ That is, members of the college of augurs.

DCCCXLVIII (BRUT. I, 5)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (AT DYRRACHIUM)

ROME (5 MAY)

ON the 27th. of April, when the speeches were being delivered in the senate as to the proceedings to be taken against the men who had been adjudged public enemies, Servilius referred among others to the case of Ventidius,¹ and also advised that Cassius should conduct the war against Dolabella. I spoke in support of this, and added to the motion that you, if you thought it expedient and to the public advantage, should direct your attack upon Dolabella: and that if you could not do so with advantage to the public service, or if you thought that it was to the interests of the state, you should keep your army in the district in which it now is. The senate could not have paid you a greater compliment than leaving you to decide what you thought to be for the benefit of the state. For my own part my feeling is that, if Dolabella has a body of troops, if he has a camp, if he has any footing anywhere, it concerns your honour and position that you should go against him. As to the forces in the hands of our friend Cassius we know nothing, for we have had no despatch from him personally, nor has any news reached us upon which we can rely. But how important it is that Dolabella should be crushed you certainly fully appreciate, both that he may be punished for his crime, and that there may be no place of refuge for the ringleaders of the outlaws after their rout at Mutina. And indeed that this has all along been my opinion you may recollect from my previous letter—though at that time our only harbour of refuge was in your camp, and we were looking to your army to save us from destruction. Much more, now that we have been freed as I hope from absolute danger, ought we to de-

¹ Ventidius Bassus, the prætor, who had marched from Ariminum and joined Antony at Vada Sabata. See pp. 218, 221, 230.

vote ourselves to crushing Dolabella.¹ But think the matter over carefully, decide it wisely, and—if you deem it right—let me know what you have resolved and what you are actually doing. I wish my son Cicero to be co-opted into your college.² I think in the circumstances that in the election of sacerdotes candidates might be voted for in their absence: for it has been done even before this. For instance, Gaius Marius, though he was in Cappadocia, was created an augur under the *lex Domitia*;³ nor has any law since made that illegal. There is even a clause in the *lex Iulia*—the most recent legislation on the subject of the priesthoods—in these words: “the candidate and anyone for whom votes shall be taken.” This clearly indicates that votes can be taken for one who does not act as a candidate. I have written to my son on this subject telling him to follow your advice, as in all other things. It is for you again to decide about Domitius and our friend Cato.⁴ But however legal it may be for votes to be taken for a man in his absence, yet it is easier in every way for those who are on the spot. While if you have re-

¹ Cicero means that he had thought Brutus ought to pursue Dolabella, though before the success at Mutina it was important for the Optimates at Rome to have Brutus near at hand in case of danger. Now that the battle of Mutina had relieved them of that fear, there can be no reason why Brutus should not go to Asia, or anywhere else that was necessary.

² The college of the pontifices. Two vacancies had occurred by the death of Iulius Cæsar and P. Servilius Isauricus. They were filled up later in the year by Ventidius Bassus and Cornelius Balbus.

³ Marius went to Cappadocia in B.C. 99-98 on a *votiva legatio* to the mother of the gods, really with a view to see the state of things in regard to the encroachments of Mithradates, against whom he wished to be appointed to command. The *lex Domitia*, B.C. 104, left the right of *co-optatio* in a modified form to the sacred colleges. Two of the existing members nominated a man, who was next elected by seventeen of the tribes in the *sacerdotum comitia*, and was then—as though by a *congé d'élire*—co-opted by the whole college. This had since that time been again modified by Sulla, the intermediate process of election by the seventeen tribes being omitted or in some way reduced to a mere form; but after Sulla the old practice was resumed.

⁴ That is, whether you wish them to be candidates. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (who fell at Pharsalia) married Porcia, a sister of Cato Uticensis, and Brutus was married to Porcia, a daughter of the same Cato. Therefore the son of Domitius—Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus—and young Cato, the son of Cato Uticensis, were connexions of Brutus, and he might wish to back them.

solved that you must go to Asia, we shall have no means of summoning our friends to the *comitia*. Certainly I think that everything would have been more expeditiously done if Pansa were alive: for he would have at once held the election of his colleague, and then the *comitia* of the sacerdotēs would have been held before those of the prætors. As it is, I foresee a long delay on account of the *auspicia*; for as long as there is a single patrician magistrate left the *auspicia* cannot revert to the senate. It is certainly a serious complication.¹ Pray write and tell me your views on the whole question.

5 May.

DCCCXLIX (F X, 14)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GALLIA
COMATA)

ROME, 5 MAY

WHAT a pleasant report it was that we received two days before that of the victory of the support you were bringing up, of your zeal, your rapid movements, and the forces at your disposal! And yet even now that the enemy have been

¹ The same difficulty had occurred in B.C. 49, when both consuls were abroad (see vol. ii., pp. 331, 349). The lesser magistrate cannot "create," *i.e.*, hold the election for, the greater. In old times, when the consuls were the only curule magistrates, in case of their disappearance by death or otherwise, the *auspicia*—the right of taking the auspices, without which there could be no valid election—were said to revert to the *patres* of the senate. The senate then nominated *interreges*, who held the election. But the question is now complicated by the fact that there are other curule magistrates who possess the *auspicia*, which therefore cannot revert to the *patres* unless they abdicate. In B.C. 52 the question did not arise, for the elections having been all prevented till after the 1st of January, all curule magistrates had vacated their offices, and therefore the *auspicia* had reverted to the *patres*. By a "patrician magistrate," Cicero practically means a curule magistrate, originally confined to the patricians: the term is still used, though the old "patrician" monopoly of the *auspicia* had long disappeared.

repulsed our whole hope is in you. For the most notorious ringleaders of those outlaws are said to have escaped from the battle of Mutina. Now it is no less satisfactory to wipe out the last part of an invasion than to drive off the first. As for me, I am anxiously looking for a letter from you, and my anxiety is shared by many. I am in hopes, too, that Lepidus—warned by the present state of public affairs—will act with you and the Republic. Therefore, my dear Plancus, make it your special aim that not a single spark of that most abominable war be left alight. If this is accomplished, you will have done the state a service more than human and will also win imperishable honour for yourself.

5 May.

DCCCL (F XI, 10)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

DETRONA, 5 MAY

I DO not think that the Republic owes me more than I owe you. You have good assurance of my being capable of greater gratitude to you than those misguided persons shew me: and that if after all my words seem to be dictated by the exigencies of the hour, I prefer your approval to that of all those people on the other side. For your judgment of us proceeds from an independent and sincere feeling: they are debarred from that by malice and jealousy. Let them interpose to prevent my receiving marks of honour, so long as they do not prevent the public service being properly conducted by me. The extreme danger in which that now stands I will explain as briefly as I can. To begin with, you cannot fail to observe what a confusion in city business is caused by the death of the consuls, and how much ambition this vacancy in the office inspires in men. I think I have written as much as can be committed to paper. For I know to whom I am writing. I now return to Antony, who, though when he fled he had only a handful of unarmed infantry, seems, by breaking open slave-barracks and requisitioning

every kind of human being, to have made up a very considerable number. To this has been added the force of Ventidius, which after accomplishing a difficult march across the Apennines has reached Vada and has there affected a junction with Antony. There is a very considerable number of veterans and fully armed soldiers with Ventidius. Antony's plan of campaign must certainly be either to join Lepidus, if Lepidus will have him; or to keep behind the lines of the Apennines and Alps, and to lay waste the district which he has invaded by sending out parties of cavalry, of which he has large numbers; or to draw back into Etruria, since that part of Italy has no army in it. But if Cæsar had listened to me and crossed the Apennines, I should have reduced Antony to such straits, that he would have been ruined by failure of provisions rather than by the sword. But neither can anyone control Cæsar, nor can Cæsar control his own army—both most disastrous facts. These things being so, I won't hinder anybody, as far as I am concerned, from interposing, as I said before. It alarms me to think how these difficulties are to be removed, and, when they are removed by you, of the fresh hindrances that may intervene. I am already unable to feed and pay my men. When I undertook the task of freeing the Republic I had more than 40,000 sester tia¹ in money. So far from any part of my private property remaining unencumbered, I have by this time loaded all my friends with debt. I am now supporting a force amounting to seven legions, you can imagine with what difficulty. Not if I had all the treasures of Varro,² could I stand the expense. As soon as I have any certain information about Antony I will let you know. Pray continue to love me with the assurance that I entertain the same feeling for you.

5 May, in camp, Dertona.

¹ About £320,000.

² M. Terentius Varro was not a particularly rich man, or at any rate not sufficiently so to be proverbial. But he wrote a book *de divitiis*, in which he may have told the story of Crassus saying that no one was rich till he could keep a legion on the interest of his capital (Pliny, *N. H.* 33, § 134). Another suggestion is that it refers to some character in one of Varro's plays.

DCCCLI (F XI, 11)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

STATIELLÆ,¹ 6 MAY

DECIMUS BRUTUS, *imperator*, consul-designate, salutes Marcus Cicero. I have received a letter from you which is a duplicate of that brought by my own servants. I consider that I owe you a debt that it is difficult to repay. I write to tell you what is going on here. Antony is on the march: his object is to reach Lepidus. He hasn't given up hope even of Plancus yet, as I gather from some of his papers which have fallen into my hands, in which he noted the names of the men he was sending to Asinius, to Lepidus, to Plancus. I, however, did not hesitate what to do. I at once sent messengers to Plancus, and in the course of a couple of days I expect ambassadors from the Allobroges and the whole of Gaul, whom I shall encourage to remain loyal and shall send home again. Pray make provision for all necessary measures at Rome, that they may be conducted as you would wish them to be, and with advantage to the Republic. People's malice against me pray frustrate if you can. If you can't, console yourself with the reflexion that they cannot move me from the position I have taken up by any amount of abuse.

6 May, in camp, in the district of Statiellæ.

¹ The pass—still a mere mule track—leads from Dertona down to Vadu by the medicinal springs called Aquæ Statiellæ (mod. *Acqui*). Antony had got his cavalry and other troops through with great energy.

DCCCLII (F XII, 12)

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

SYRIA, 7 MAY

IF you are well, I am glad. I also am well. I have read your letter in which I recognized your uncommon affection for me. For you seemed not merely to wish me well—as you always have done on private and public grounds alike—but to have involved yourself in very grave responsibility and to be exceedingly anxious about us. Therefore, because in the first place I thought that you would believe that we could not remain inactive when the Republic was crushed: and in the second place because, as you suspected that we were moving, I thought you would be anxious as to our safety and the result of the operations, as soon as I received the legions brought by Aulus Allienus from Egypt,¹ I wrote to you and sent a number of messengers to Rome. I also wrote a despatch to the senate, which I said was not to be delivered until it had been read to you—if by any chance my messengers have chosen to obey me. If these letters have not reached you, I have no doubt that Dolabella, who seized the government of Asia after the abominable murder of Trebonius,² has caught my letter-carriers and intercepted the despatches. I have now under me all the Roman forces in Syria. I have been delayed for a short time whilst providing the promised pay for the soldiers. I am only just free from that difficulty. I beg you to consider that the defence of my position is committed to you, as you know full well that I have declined no danger and no labour in the service of my country: as on your suggestion and advice I have taken up arms against the most unscrupulous outlaws: as I have not only collected armies to defend the Republic and liberty, but have also rescued them from the most bloodthirsty tyrants. If Dola-

¹ See p. 180. Aulus Allienus was a *legatus* of Trebonius, and had been sent to Egypt for the legions stationed there.

² See pp. 204, 210.

bella had anticipated me in getting hold of these armies, he would have strengthened Antony's hands, not only by their actual arrival, but also by giving him reason to think and expect that they were coming. For which achievements defend my soldiers, since you understand that they have done wonderfully good service to the state, and secure that they do not regret having preferred to make the Republic the object of their labours rather than the hope of booty and plunder. Maintain also the position of the imperators Murcus and Crispus¹ as far as lies in your power. For Bassus² was desperately unwilling to hand over his legion to me. Had not his soldiers in spite of him sent agents to me, he would have kept Apamea closed until it had been stormed. I make these remarks to you not only in the name of the Republic, which has always been the object of your deepest affection, but also in the name of our friendship, which I feel sure has the greatest weight with you. Believe me that this army is at the service of the senate and all the most loyal citizens, and above all of yourself. For from continually being told of your patriotism they regard you with wonderful devotion and affection. And if they come to understand that their interests engage your attention, they will also regard themselves as owing you everything.

Since writing this letter I have been informed that Dola-bella has arrived in Cilicia with his forces. I shall start for Cilicia. Whatever I succeed in doing I will take care to let you know promptly. I can only hope that we may be as fortunate as our services to the state deserve. Keep well, and love me.

7 May, in camp.

¹ L. Murcus and Q. Marcius Crispus, who had been engaged against Cæcilius Bassus, and had handed over their legions to Cassius. See p. 180.

² See vol. iii., p. 335 ; *ante*, pp. 15, 143, 180.

DCCCLIII (BRUT. I, 4, §§ 1-3)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

DYRRACHIUM (7 MAY)

My joy at hearing of the success of our friend Decimus Brutus and the consuls it is easier for you to imagine than for me to write.¹ I have nothing but praise and pleasure for everything that has occurred, but especially for the fact that the sortie of Brutus not only proved his own salvation, but also a very great assistance to the victory.²

You remark that all the three Antonies stand on one and the same ground, and that it rests with me to decide what view I take. Well, my only conclusion is that the decision in regard to those citizens who have fought and not been killed rests with the senate or the Roman people. "Ah, but," you will say, "you are wrong to begin with in calling men citizens whose feelings to the state are those of enemies." On the contrary, I am acting with the strictest justice. For that which the senate has not yet voted, nor the Roman people ordained—that I do not take upon myself to pre-judge, nor do I claim to decide it on my own authority. From this position I do not budge—from the man, whom circumstances did not compel me to put to death, I have not wrested anything in a spirit of cruelty, nor have I given him any indulgence from mere weakness; but I have retained him in my power until the end of the war. I consider it much the more honourable course, and one which the Re-

¹ Brutus could not have known of the death of the consuls, which indeed was not known at first even at Rome. Galba's letter (pp. 211-213) says nothing even of Pansa's wound, and as Brutus refers below to the last words of Letter DCCCXLI (p. 219), he could not have as yet received DCCCXLIII.

² According to Dio (46, 40), Decimus Brutus and his besieged garrison made no sortie during the battle, nor took any part in it. But there is nothing surprising in M. Brutus having heard that he did. The inaccuracy of the reports during the war has again and again been apparent.

public can with more safety concede, not to press heavily on the unfortunate, rather than to indulge men of influence in what is calculated to inflame their ambition and arrogance.¹ In this matter, Cicero, you—who have done the most splendid and gallant services, and are most deeply beloved by all on private and public grounds alike—seem to me too ready to believe what you hope; and the moment anyone has done anything well, to be ready to give and concede everything to him. As though it were not quite possible that a mind should be corrupted by bribery and perverted to evil. You are so good-natured that you won't be angry at receiving this hint, especially as it concerns the common safety. You will act, however, as it may seem best to you. Even I, when you have admonished me . . .²

DCCCLIV (F X, 13)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GALLIA
COMATA)

ROME (10 MAY)

FROM the first moment that the opportunity was given me of promoting your position, I omitted nothing that was calculated to do you honour, whether in the way of substantial reward for valour or of complimentary words. That you will be able to learn from the decree of the senate itself: for it was drawn up word for word as I delivered my motion from a written copy; which motion was carried by a full senate with great enthusiasm and striking unanimity. Although I clearly gathered from your letter to me that you cared more for the approval of good men than for the outward badges of distinction, yet I thought that we ought to

¹ Brutus seems to be referring to those members of the party who were in favour of severities to the opposition, partly from desire for vengeance, and partly with an eye to confiscations and other personal advantages. We heard much of this in the early times of the civil war. See vol. ii., pp. 294, 310, etc.

² The end of the letter is lost.

take into calculation—even if you made no demand—how much was due to you from the Republic. See that you make the end tally with the beginning. For the man who crushes Antony will have finished the war. Just so Homer did not give either Ajax or Achilles the title of “city-sacker,” but Ulysses.¹

DCCCLV (F XI, 13, §§ 1-4)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

POLLENTIA (12 MAY)

I AM not going to thank you any more ; for when one can make a man no return in deeds, it is impossible to satisfy his just claims by mere words. I want you to notice what I have on my hands. For your insight is so great that you will take in the whole situation, if you read my letter with care. I was unable, my dear Cicero, to pursue Antony at once for the following reasons. I had no cavalry, no transport animals ; I did not know that Hirtius was dead ; I did not know that Aquila was dead ; I couldn't put any confidence in Cæsar without first visiting and holding a conversation with him. So passed the first day. Next day early I was summoned by Pansa to Bononia. While I was on the way news was brought to me that he was dead. I hurried back to my poor little force—for I can call it so with truth. It was most woefully reduced and in the very worst condition from want of every kind of necessary. Antony thus got two days start of me. He made much longer marches, as being in retreat, than I could in pursuit. For he marched in loose

¹ This is true of the *Odyssey*, but in the *Iliad* Achilles is called *πτολιπόρθεος* four times (viii. 372 ; xv. 77 ; xxi. 550 ; xxiv. 108). But as the great critic Aristarchus made the same remark, he was either referring only to the *Odyssey*, or he disbelieved in the genuineness of these verses in the *Iliad*. The point here is that, though Ajax and Achilles won victories, it was Ulysses who finished the war by leading the chiefs in the wooden horse ; so it is the man who conquers Antony that will finish the war.

order, I in close. Wherever he came he broke open the slave-barracks and forcibly requisitioned the men. He never made any halt anywhere till he reached Vada.¹ I would like you to know about this place. It lies between the Apennines and the Alps, very difficult to reach by a march. When I was thirty miles from it, and when Ventidius had already effected a junction with him, a public speech delivered by Antony was reported to me, in which he began entreating his men to follow him across the Alps, telling them that he had an understanding with Marcus Lepidus. There was some murmuring, and from a good many of Ventidius's men—for Antony has very few of his own—that it was their duty to perish or conquer in Italy; and they began begging him to allow them to march to Pollentia. Not being able to withstand them, he arranged to begin his march the next day. When I received this intelligence I at once sent forward five cohorts to Pollentia and directed my march to that place. My advanced guard arrived at Pollentia an hour before Trebellius with his cavalry.² I was greatly delighted: for I think that this constitutes a victory. . . .³

DCCCLVI (F X, 15)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CULARO,⁴ 13 MAY

WHAT has happened since my last letter⁵ was written I thought it for the public service that you should know. My persevering attention has, I hope, borne some fruit both for myself and the Republic. For by a continual inter-

¹ See p. 231.² There is no doubt that Decimus Brutus was completely outmanœuvred. Antony's despatch of cavalry to Pollentia was a feint to draw Decimus Brutus away from the road to Vada, and he fell into the trap.³ The end of the letter is lost.⁴ Modern *Grenoble*⁵ See Letter DCCCXLV. This may have been sent with it.

change of messages I urged Lepidus, laying aside all controversies and admitting a reconciliation between us, to join me in coming to the rescue of the Republic ; to have regard for himself, his children, and the city, as more precious than one abandoned and humiliated outlaw : and I promised him that he should find me thoroughly at his command in every undertaking if he did so. I have made some way with him ; and accordingly he has by our intermediary Laterensis pledged his word to me that he will make war on Antony, if he fails to prevent his entrance into his province. He has asked me to join him and combine our forces. He is the more urgent on that point because Antony for his part is said to be strong in cavalry, while Lepidus himself is not even moderately equipped in that respect. For even from the small number that he did possess, ten of the best a few days ago had deserted to my camp. When I was informed of these facts I did not delay : I thought that Lepidus was to be encouraged in the path of loyalty. I saw what my arrival was likely to effect, either because I could, as I reckoned, pursue and crush his cavalry with mine, or because I might, I thought, by bringing my army up, reform and put pressure upon that part of Lepidus's army which was disaffected and disloyal to the state. Accordingly, having made a bridge in a single day across the Isara—a very large river which bounds the territory of the Allobroges—I got my army across on the 12th of May. Having, however, received information that Lucius Antonius with cavalry and some cohorts had been sent in advance and had arrived at Forum Iulii, I sent my brother with 4,000 cavalry on the 13th of May to meet him. I am going to follow him with four legions in fighting order and the rest of my cavalry as quickly as I can march. If the good fortune of the Republic aids us even to a moderate degree, we shall here find an end to the presumption of a set of ruffians and to our own anxiety. But if that outlaw gets timely warning of our approach and retreats into Italy, it will be the business of Brutus to meet him, who will not, I know, lack either strategy or courage. However, if that happens, I shall send my brother with the cavalry in pursuit of him, to protect Italy from being looted. Take care of your health and return my affection.

DCCCLVII (F X, 21, §§ 1-6)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT
ROME)

CAMP ON THE ISARA, 15 MAY

I SHOULD have been ashamed of the contradictory nature of my despatches, had not this depended on the caprices of another. I had adopted every possible precaution for enabling me, by combining with Lepidus for the defence of the Republic, to resist these ruffians with less anxiety to you all at Rome. I conceded everything he demanded and volunteered much besides, and two days ago I wrote to tell you that I felt sure of finding Lepidus loyal, and that I should conduct the war in consultation with him. I trusted to his own handwriting, and to the personal assurances of Laterensis, who was then in my camp and was entreating me to be reconciled to Lepidus and to trust him. I was not long allowed to entertain good hopes of him. At least I have taken precautions, and will continue to do so, that the fortune of the Republic does not suffer from any credulity on my part. When after constructing a bridge in a single day I had got my army across the Isara, using all the rapidity which the gravity of the situation demanded, because he had written to me with his own hand asking me to hasten my arrival, I was met by his orderly bringing a despatch in which he warned me not to come, saying that he could finish the affair independently, and that I should meanwhile wait for him on the Isara. I will tell you what my idea on the spur of the moment was. I had resolved to go all the same, thinking that what he was trying to avoid was having anyone to share in his glory. I thought that I could avoid trenching at all upon the reputation of a poor-spirited man, and yet could be at hand on some convenient ground, so as to be able to render prompt aid in case of any reverse. This was my idea in the innocence of my heart. But Laterensis, who is a thoroughly honourable man, sent me

a letter in his own handwriting, expressing excessive despair of himself, of the army, of the good faith of Lepidus, and complaining that he had been thrown over. In this letter also he openly warned me to be on my guard against being taken in: said that he had been true to his word: and begged me not to abandon the Republic. I have sent a copy of his original letter to Titius.¹ The original documents themselves, both those in which I believed, and those in which I thought no confidence was to be placed, I will give to Lævus Cispus—who was cognizant of all these transactions—to take home.

An additional complication is that when Lepidus harangued his men, the soldiers who are disaffected in themselves and have been also tampered with by their officers—your Canidii, Rufreni, and all that lot, whose names you shall know when needful—joined in shouting, excellent fellows! “that they desired peace and would not fight with anybody, after two distinguished consuls had been lost, so many citizens killed in defence of their country, and when finally all had been declared public enemies, and had their property confiscated.” As this outbreak was neither punished nor allayed by Lepidus, I saw that I had been infatuated and rash to come here, and expose my thoroughly loyal army, my very numerous auxiliaries, the leading men of Gaul, and my whole province to those two combined armies.² I saw, too, that had I been overpowered in these circumstances, and dragged down the Republic with me into ruin, my death would not only have been without honour, but without even pity. Therefore I am about to return, and will not allow the possibility of such great advantages being presented to such scoundrels. I will take care to keep my army on advantageous ground, to protect my province, even though Lepidus's army has joined in the defection, not to commit myself to anything, until you send reinforcements from home, and to defend the constitution here with the same good fortune as has been done elsewhere.³ At the same time, no one was ever more ready to fight a pitched battle, if occasion presents itself; or to stand a siege, if it turns out

¹ A tribune (see p. 207). Plancus wants to justify himself in the eyes of his opponents at Rome.

² That is, of Antony and Lepidus.

³ That is, as at Mutina.

to be necessary ; or to die, if so it happens, in your defence. Wherefore I urge upon you, my dear Cicero, to see to an army being sent across to this district as soon as possible, and to hasten that measure before the enemy consolidates his strength and our men begin to be shaken in their allegiance. If that is done promptly, traitors will be destroyed, and the victory will remain with the Republic. Take care of your health and love me.

DCCCLVIII (F X, 21, § 7)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CAMP ON THE ISARA (15 MAY)

NEED I write to you in vindication of my brother, gallant citizen and thoroughly prepared for every kind of duty as he is? His hard work has brought on a feverish attack, which is persistent and rather troublesome. As soon as he is well enough he will not hesitate to hurry back to Rome, so as not to be wanting in his duty to the Republic anywhere.¹ I pray you to consider that the defence of my position is committed to you. I have no occasion for any ambition: I have in you a most devoted friend and—what I always desired—possessed now of the greatest influence. It is for you to consider the extent and time of your favours to me. The only request I make to you is that you give me Hirtius's place both in your affection and in the privilege of shewing you attentions.

¹ Cn. Munatius Plancus was prætor. See p. 187.

DCCCLIX (F XI, 12)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (NEAR POLLENTIA)

ROME (BEWEEN 14 AND 19 MAY)

I HAVE received three letters from you on the same day: one a short one which you had intrusted to Volumnius Flaccus; two of greater length, one of which the letter-carrier of Titus Vibius brought, the other was forwarded to me by Lupus. To judge from your letters and from what Græceius says, the war, so far from being extinguished, is hotter than ever. However, I feel sure that your eminent wisdom makes it clear to you that, if Antony gets any firm foothold, all those brilliant services of yours to the state will come to nothing. For the news that reached Rome, and what everybody believed, was that Antony had fled with a small body of men, who were without arms, panic-stricken, and utterly demoralized. But if he is in such a position, as Græceius tells me, that he cannot be offered battle without risk, he appears to me not to have fled from Mutina, but merely to have changed the seat of war. Accordingly, there is a general revulsion of feeling. Some people even grumble at your not having pursued him: they think that he might have been crushed if expeditious measures had been taken. It is ever the way with a populace, and above all with that of Rome—they vent their freedom without restraint on the very man who secured it for them. All the same, we must take care that there is no just cause of complaint. The fact is this: that man will have finished the war, who has crushed Antony. The point of that remark I would rather leave you to grasp than express it more openly myself.

DCCCLX (BRUT. I, 16)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)¹

MACEDONIA (MAY)

I HAVE read an extract from your letter to Octavius which was sent me by Atticus. Your zeal and care for my safety gave me no novel pleasure ; for it is not merely a matter of habit, but of daily habit, to be told of you that you have said or done something in defence of my position which displayed your fidelity and complimentary opinion of me. But that same extract of your letter to Octavius about us caused me a distress as great as my heart is capable of feeling. For you thank him in the name of the Republic in such terms ! With such abject and whispering humbleness—why must I write the word ? I blush to think of my position and high estate, yet I must write it—you commend *our* safety to *him* ! Could any death be a worse disaster ? You, in fact, avow that the slavery is not abolished, only the master changed ! Recall your words and dare to say that those prayers are not

¹ The textual history of this and the following letter (to Atticus) is strong enough, and the references in Plutarch's *Brutus* (ch. xxii.) are sufficient to prove that they, or documents exceedingly like them, existed in his time and were believed to be genuine. To my mind the letter to Atticus has much the stronger internal signs of genuineness of the two. For in spite of every attestation one is loath to think that the present letter was really written by a man who enjoyed as high a reputation among his contemporaries as Brutus did. It is so querulous, poor, ill-expressed, and tautological—so entirely unworthy of the subject and the writer and the recipient—that we should be glad to know of a dull pupil in a rhetorical school being discovered to be its author. To read arguments in favour of its being Brutus's usual style reminds one of a criticism of Charles Lamb, who, being told that somebody's sonnets were like those of Petrarch, replied, "Yes, they are like Petrarch's, if we could suppose Petrarch to have been born a fool."

I have left these letters in the place assigned them in Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser's edition ; but one of the gravest objections to them is the difficulty of deciding to what particular juncture they can refer : and for some reasons it seems to me to be most natural to put at any rate the first of them before the battle of Mutina.

the prayers of an enslaved subject to a tyrant. The one and only thing—you say—that is demanded and expected of him is that he consent to the safety of those citizens, of whom the loyalists and the people have a good opinion. What? If he doesn't consent, shall we not be safe? And yet it is better not to be than to be by his favour.¹ Upon my honour I do not think that all the gods are so hostile to the safety of the Roman people, that we need entreat Octavius for the safety of any citizen, not to say for "the liberators of the world"—for there is a certain advantage in using strong language, and at any rate there is a propriety in doing so to people who do not know what every man ought to fear or to aim at.

Do you confess, Cicero, that Octavius has this power, and are you his friend? Or, if you regard me with affection, do you wish me to appear at Rome, when in order to do so safely I have had to be recommended to that boy? Why do you thank him, if you think he has to be asked to allow and suffer us to keep our lives? Is it to be regarded as a favour that he has preferred to be himself rather than a second Antony, to whom we had to make petitions like that? Does anyone address to the destroyer of another's tyranny, and not rather to its successor, a prayer that those who have done the most splendid services to their country may be allowed their lives? This is mere weakness and a counsel of despair. And the fault is not yours more than everyone else's. It was this that egged on Cæsar to desire royalty, and induced Antony after his death to aim at occupying the place of the dead man, and has at the present moment put that boy of yours on such a pedestal, as to make you think that he must be absolutely entreated to grant life to such men as us, and that we shall even now be able to enjoy a bare safety from the pity of one man, and by nothing else whatever. But if we had remembered that we were Romans, these dregs of mankind would not have conceived the ambition of playing the tyrant with more boldness than we should have forbidden it: nor would Antony have had his ambition

¹ This of course recalls Shakespeare, and may have suggested,

"I had as lief not be as live to be
In awe of such a thing as I myself."

Jul. Cæs. i. 2, 95.

more roused by Cæsar's royalty, than his fears excited by Cæsar's death. For yourself, a consular and the avenger of such abominable crimes—and I fear that by their suppression the mischief was only postponed by you for a short time—how can you contemplate your own achievements, and at the same time countenance, or at any rate endure these things with such abject humbleness as to have the air of countenancing them? Again, what was your private and personal quarrel with Antony? Why, it was just because he made this very claim—that our safety should be asked as a favour from him; that we should hold our civil rights on sufferance—we from whom he had himself received his freedom; that he should be absolute in the Republic—it was for these reasons that you thought we must take up arms to prevent his playing the tyrant. Was the object of doing so that, when he had been prevented, we should have to petition another man to allow himself to be put in his place? Or was it that the Republic should be its own master and at its own disposal? Surely: unless we are to suppose that our objection was not to slavery but to the terms of our slavery! And yet, not only had we the opportunity of supporting our high estate with Antony as a liberal master, but even of enjoying rewards and honours as his partners to the top of our ambition: for what would he have refused to men, whose submissiveness he saw would be the greatest bulwark of his tyranny? But nothing seemed sufficient to make us barter our honour and freedom.

This very boy, whom the name of Cæsar appears to instigate against the slayers of Cæsar, what would he give, if there were a chance of such traffic, to be as powerful with our support, as he certainly will be when we choose life for its own sake, and the possession of money, and the title of consulars! But Cæsar will have perished in vain: for why did we rejoice at his death, if we were to become none the less slaves when he is dead? No one else cares about these things, but may the gods and goddesses take from me everything sooner than the resolution of never conceding what I would not endure in Cæsar—I won't say to the heir of the man I killed, but even to my father himself if he were to come to life again—namely, that he should, without a protest from me, be more powerful than the laws and the senate.

Are you so deluded as to think that the rest of the world will be free from one without whose consent there is no footing for us in Rome? Moreover, how can you possibly get what you ask? For you ask that he would consent to our safety: do we therefore appear likely to accept safety, since we have accepted life? But how can we accept it, if we previously give up position and liberty? Do you count the fact of living at Rome as complete citizenship? It is circumstance, not the particular place of residence, that must secure me that. I was neither properly a full citizen while Cæsar was alive, except when I had resolved upon doing that deed; nor can I ever be anywhere an exile so long as I abhor servitude and submission to insult worse than every other evil. To ask a man who has adopted a tyrant's name as his own¹ for the safety of the avengers and destroyers of the tyranny—is not this to fall back into the very dungeon from which you have just escaped? Why, in Greek states when tyrants are put down their sons are included under the same punishment.² Am I to desire to see a state, or to regard it as a state at all, which is incapable of recovering even a freedom handed down by its ancestors and rooted in its very being, and which is more afraid of the name of a slain tyrant in the person of a mere boy, than confident in itself, though seeing the very man who possessed the most over-weening power removed by the valour of a few? For myself—do not henceforth recommend me to your Cæsar, nor yourself either, if you will listen to me. You must have a great value for the few years that your time of life allows you, if for their sake you are going to be a suppliant to that boy of yours. Again, take care that those very splendid attacks which you have made and are still making upon Antony, instead of getting you credit for courage, are not misinterpreted into a belief that you are afraid. For if you think Octavius the sort of person from whom to make petitions for our safety, you will be thought

¹ Octavius by adoption in Cæsar's will was now C. Iulius Cæsar Octavianus. Brutus never calls him Octavianus, as that would acknowledge the adoption, and only *Cæsar* ironically.

² A verse of Stasimus is quoted by Polybius (23, 10) on the policy of killing sons as well as fathers: *νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείνας υἱοὺς καταλείπει*, "Oh fool! to slay the sire and leave the sons!"

not to have fled from a master, but to have looked out for a more agreeable master. Of your praising him for his conduct up to this time I quite approve, for it deserves to be praised, provided that he adopted these measures against the tyrannical power of another and not in support of his own. But when you shew your opinion that he is not only to be allowed so much power, but is even to have so much tendered to him by yourself, as to be petitioned not to refuse us our lives, you are making a very bad bargain with him, for you are giving away to him the very thing of which the Republic seemed to be in possession through him. And it does not occur to you that, if Octavius deserves those honours for waging war on Antony, to those who have cut up that mischief by the roots—of which the present position is but the last trace—the Roman people will never give what is an adequate reward of their service, though it should heap everything it had to give upon them at once. See too how much more awake people are to actual fear than to the memory of past terrors. Because Antony is still alive and in arms, while in regard to Cæsar what could and was bound to be done is all over and cannot be undone, Octavius is the man whose decision as to us is awaited by the Roman people ; we are in such a position that one man has to be petitioned to enable us to live. I however—to return to your policy—so far from being the sort of man to supplicate, am one forcibly to coerce those who demand that supplications should be addressed to them. If I can't do that, I will withdraw far from the servile herd and will for myself regard as Rome wherever I am able to be free. I shall feel only pity for men like yourself, if neither age nor honours nor the example of other men's courage has been able to lessen your clinging to life. For my part I shall only think myself happy if I abide with firmness and persistency in the idea that my patriotism has had its reward : for what is there better than the memory of good actions, and for a man—wanting nothing except liberty—to disregard the vicissitudes of human life ? But at any rate I will not yield to the yielders, nor be conquered by those who are willing to be conquered themselves. I will try every expedient, every plan : and I will never desist from the attempt to rescue our country from slavery. If the luck follows

which ought to follow, I shall rejoice : if not, I shall rejoice all the same, for on what better deeds or thoughts can my life be spent than on those which are directed to the liberation of my fellow citizens? For you, Cicero, I beg and entreat you not to give in to fatigue or despair. In warding off actually existing evils ever seek to discover those that will occur if they are not prevented, and so prevent their creeping in upon us. Consider that the brave and independent spirit, with which as consul and now as a consular you have vindicated the freedom of the state, ceases to exist if a consistent and even tenor of conduct is not preserved. For I confess that tried virtue is in a harder position than virtue that is unknown. We exact good deeds as a debt : we assail the reverse with anger in our hearts, as though we were cheated by such men. So, for instance, though it is a most laudable thing that Cicero should resist Antony, yet because the consul of that time is thought naturally to guarantee the consular of to-day, no one admires him. And if this same Cicero when dealing with others has distorted his judgment, which he kept unshaken with such steadiness and high spirit in routing Antony, he will not only snatch the glory of future action from his own grasp, but will even force his past career to fade from sight (for there is nothing which is truly great in itself, unless it is deliberate and systematic), because no one is under a greater obligation to love the Republic and to be the champion of liberty, whether we regard his ability or his great past or the eager demands upon him from all the world. Wherefore Octavius ought not to be petitioned to consent to our safety. Rather do you rouse yourself to the fixed belief that the state in which you have performed the most splendid services will be free and honoured, if only the people have leaders in their resistance to the plots of traitors.

DCCCLXI (BRUT. I, 17)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO ATTICUS (AT ROME)

MACEDONIA (MAY)

You say in your letter that Cicero wonders at my never making any remark about his political actions. Since you ask me, under compulsion from you I will set down my sentiments. I know that Cicero does everything with the best intentions—for what could be clearer to me than his devotion to the Republic? But he, the acutest of men, appears to me in certain things to have acted with a want of—shall I call it tact or disinterestedness?—in spite of the fact that he has not scrupled to incur the enmity of Antony at the height of his power on behalf of the Republic. I don't know what to set down on paper for you except the one thing: that the boy's ambition and unscrupulousness have been rather provoked than repressed by Cicero: and that he carries this indulgence to such a pitch that he does not abstain from abusive remarks—remarks which recoil upon himself with double force, because he put more than a single person to death, and ought rather to confess himself a murderer than to taunt Casca as he does, and because he imitates in Casca's case the conduct of Bestia.¹ Pray, because we are not always bragging of the Ides of March, as he always has his Nones of December on his lips, is Cicero in any better position for vilifying a most glorious deed than Bestia and Clodius were for their habitual attacks upon his consulship? Our friend Cicero boasts to me that he has, though a

¹ That is, he is as bitter to Casca as Bestia was formerly to himself. L. Calpurnius Bestia had been a partisan of Catiline (*pro Sest.* § 11). Yet Cicero defended him on a charge of *ambitus* in B.C. 56 (see vol. I., p. 216). There were two brothers Casca—C. Servilius Casca and P. Servilius Casca—engaged in the assassination. Publius was tribune in B.C. 44-43. From *ad Att.* xvi. 159, p. 159, it would seem that Octavian had protested against his tribuneship (cp. 13 *Phil.* § 31, p. 189). It seems almost too great an inconsistency to be believed that Cicero should ever have reproached any man with the death of Cæsar.

civilian, successfully faced the war of Antony. What good is that to me, if as a price for crushing Antony succession into Antony's position is demanded, and if the avenger of that evil comes forward as the supporter of another destined to have a deeper foundation and to strike deeper roots, unless we prevent it? Granted that his present policy proceeds from fear—shall we say of tyranny, or of a tyrant, or of Antony? Well, but I feel no gratitude to one who, to avoid being the slave of a bad-tempered master, does not deprecate slavery itself—nay, rather proposes to give him a triumph and pay for his men, and by all manner of decrees instigates him not to shrink from coveting the high position of the man whose name he has adopted. Is this worthy of a consular or of a Cicero? Since I have not been allowed to be silent, you will have to read what must necessarily give you annoyance, for I am conscious myself of the pain with which I have written this to you; nor am I ignorant what your sentiments as to the situation are, and how desperate also you think the possibility of its cure.¹ Nor, by heaven, do I blame you, Atticus. For your age, your habits, and your children² make you unenterprising—a fact which I gathered also from our friend Flavius. But I return to Cicero. What is the difference between Salvidienus³ and him? What

¹ It seems necessary in the context that this sentence should mean that Atticus despaired of remedial measures. Various emendations have been proposed. I have simply changed *desperatam* to *desperatum*, and regarded *posse sanari* as a substantive, "the possibility of a cure," which is a rather characteristic usage in these letters.

² Atticus—we should observe—had only one child, a daughter. But perhaps we may pass *liberi* as a *façon de parler*.

³ Salvidienus Rufus, an early friend of Octavian's, who had been with him at Apollonia. He was a man of obscure origin (*ex infima fortuna*, Suet. *Aug.* 66), but was employed on confidential matters for some time by Augustus. He has now apparently been sent to Rome with Octavian's demand for the consulship. In B.C. 42 and 41 he was employed against Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, and from thence was despatched to secure Gaul and Spain: and returned to take part in the siege of Perusia. After the fall of Perusia (B.C. 40), he went with Augustus to Gaul, where he was left in command, and designated consul for B.C. 39. But in the autumn of B.C. 40, when Antony came to Brundisium, he seems to have told Augustus that Salvidienus had been tampering with the loyalty of the Gauls, and he was convicted of *maiestas* and declared a *hostis* by the senate; and thereupon put to death (App. *B. C.* v. 52-56; Dio, 48, 13-33).

greater honour could he have proposed in the senate? "Cicero is afraid," you will say, "even now of the remnant of the civil war." Does anyone then, while fearing a war nearly concluded, think that neither the tyrannical power of the victorious army's commander nor the rashness of the boy is at all alarming? Or is his motive for this very action the idea that now, owing to the greatness of his power, every kind of honour must be spontaneously offered to him? How strange is the blindness of fear! While taking precautions against what you dread, actually to invite danger and to bring it upon you, though you might perhaps have avoided it altogether! We are over-fearful of death, exile, and poverty: I think that these things are the worst of evils in Cicero's eyes, and that while he has people from whom to get what he wants, and by whom to be made much of and flattered, he has no aversion to servitude, if it be but tempered by a show of respect—if there can be any respect in what is the last and most wretched degradation. Therefore, though Octavius call Cicero "father," consult him in everything, praise and thank him, nevertheless the truth will come out that words do not agree with deeds. For what can be more contrary to common sense than to regard a man as a father, who is not even reckoned as free? For my part, I set no store by those accomplishments with which I know Cicero to be better furnished than anyone else: for what good to him are the speeches on behalf of his country's liberty, the essays on dignity, death, exile, poverty, which he has composed with the utmost wealth of language? What a much truer view Philippus seems to have of those things, when he refused all compliments to his own stepson,¹ than Cicero has, who pays them to one who has no connexion with him! Let him cease then from absolutely insulting our misfortunes by his boastful language; for what does it profit us that Antony has been conquered, if the only result of his defeat is to leave his place open to another? However, even now there is a note of uncertainty in your letter. Long live Cicero—as he may well do—to cringe and serve! if he is not ashamed to think of his age nor his honour, nor his great

¹ For Philippus would not address him as *Cæsar*, at any rate when he first came to Italy. See p. 21.

past. For myself, at any rate, there is no condition of servitude, however favourable, which will deter me from waging war on the principle: that is, on royalty, unconstitutional magistracies, absolutism, and power that aims at being above the laws. Though Antony may be a good man, as you say in your letter—which, however, has never been my opinion—yet the law of our ancestors was that no one, not even a father, should be an absolute master. Unless I had been as deeply attached to you as Cicero believes that Octavius is devoted to him, I should not have written this to you. I am grieved to think that as you read this you are getting angry—for you are most affectionate to all your friends, and especially to Cicero: but assure yourself of this, that my personal goodwill to Cicero is in no way modified, though my opinion is largely so, for you cannot ask a man to judge except from what seems to him to be truth in each case.

I could have wished that you had mentioned in your letter what arrangements were being made for the betrothal of our dear Attica: I might have said something to you of what I felt about the matter. I am not surprised that you are anxious about Porcia's health.¹ Lastly, I will gladly do what you ask, for my sisters² ask me the same, and I know the man and his views.

DCCCLXII (BRUT. I, 4, §§ 3-6)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CAMP IN EPIRUS, 15 MAY

. . .³ Now, Cicero, now is the time for action, lest we turn out to have rejoiced in vain at the defeat of Antony, and lest

¹ Porcia, if we are to accept the *consolatio* (Letter DCCCXCVII) as genuine, seems to have died soon after this.

² Half-sisters: Iunia married to Lepidus, Tertia to Cassius. We have no means of knowing to whom Brutus is referring—perhaps to Lepidus, to whom Cicero may have asked him to write.

³ This letter—forming in the MSS. the latter part of DCCCLIII—is imperfect. The first part of it appears to have been lost.

it is always to be a case of cutting out one mischief for another to grow worse than the former. No reverse can now find us unprepared or otiose, in which everyone will not be to blame, and especially yourself, whose influence the senate and Roman people not only allow to be so great, but even desire to be the very greatest that one man's can be in a free state. And this influence you ought to maintain not only by good intentions but also by prudent conduct. Now the prudence, with which you are richly endowed, does not fail you in any respect except as to moderation in bestowing honours.¹ All other endowments you possess in such profusion, that your excellences will stand comparison with any of the heroes of old. The only outcome of your grateful and generous heart that people feel to be wanting is a more cautious and better regulated liberality. For the senate ought to grant nothing to anybody which may serve as a precedent or justification to the ill-disposed. For instance, I am afraid in regard to the consulship that your friend Cæsar will think that he has mounted to a higher position by means of your decrees than he will be willing to descend from, if he is once made consul.² But if Antony regarded the working machinery of kingly power left by another as an opportunity for seizing kingly power for himself, what do you suppose a man's feelings will be who shall conceive himself justified in aspiring to any kind of office, not on the authority of a slain tyrant, but on that of the senate itself? Wherefore I shall reserve my compliments

¹ The honours proposed to Octavian after the battles at Mutina.

² We have already heard of the constitutional difficulty as to the election of consuls in the places of Pansa and Hirtius (p. 228). Octavian sent to Rome soon after the battles of Mutina, demanding to be allowed to stand for the consulship, and Cicero had already on the 1st of January proposed that, whenever he was a candidate for it, he should be assumed to have held the quæstorship (5 *Phil.* § 47). According to Appian (*B. C.* iii. § 82; cp. Dio, 46, 42; Plutarch, *Cic.* 46), Octavian proposed to Cicero to be his colleague, promising to leave the administration to him, and Cicero agreed to the proposal, and tried to induce the senate therefore to admit his candidature—as it had to do afterwards under compulsion of his army. This story is rejected by Cicero's admirers as a Cæsarian invention, I don't quite know why. It seems not highly improbable in itself; and this letter of Brutus—especially the last sentence—seems to shew that there were at any rate rumours afloat at the time to that effect.

to your good nature and foresight till I begin to have proof that Cæsar will be content with the extra-constitutional honours that he has already received.¹ "Do you mean, then," you will say, "to make me liable for another man's misconduct?" Yes, certainly for another's, if its occurrence might have been prevented by foresight. And oh that you may clearly see the depth of my alarm in regard to him!

P.S.—After writing the above I have been informed that you have been elected consul.² I shall indeed begin to imagine that I have before my eyes a complete and self-sustained Republic, when I see that. Your son is well, and has been sent in advance into Macedonia with the cavalry.

15 May, in camp.

DCCCLXIII (BRUT. I, 6)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

IMA CANDAVIA,³ 19 MAY

DON'T expect me to thank you. From the closeness of our intimacy, which has now reached the highest possible point of friendship, that ought long ago to have become superfluous. Your son is not in my quarters; we shall meet in Macedonia. His orders were to lead the cavalry from Ambracia by way of Thessaly, and I have written to him to meet me at Heraclea. When I see him, as you consent, I will settle with him about his return for his candidature, or rather his recom-

¹ He had by two separate *senatus consulta* been invested first with the rank of *proprætor* and the *consularia ornamenta* (the honorary rank of consul), and with *imperium*. This last was on the 5th of January.

² See note p. 233. This rumour of course was false; but it may have been connected with the belief that Cicero had listened to Octavian's suggestion.

³ Candavia is a mountain across which the Egnatian Way went, about eighty miles from Dyrrachium. *Ima Candavia* seems to mean the district at the foot of the mountain. Brutus is therefore marching down the Egnatia into Macedonia proper.

mendation to the office.¹ I commend to your protection with the utmost warmth Pansa's physician Glyco, who is married to the sister of my freedman Achilles. I am told that he is suspected by Torquatus in regard to Pansa's death, and is in custody as a murderer. Nothing could be more incredible: for who lost more than he did by Pansa's death? Besides he is a well-conducted moral man, whom even personal advantage would seem unlikely to tempt to crime. I beg you, and that with great earnestness—for my Achilles is as anxious about it as he is bound to be—to rescue him from prison and be his preserver. This I regard as affecting my duty as a private man as nearly as anything else could do.²

While I was actually writing this letter to you a despatch was delivered to me from Satrius, a legate of Gaius Trebonius, saying that Dolabella had been defeated and put to flight by Tillius³ and Deiotarus. I am sending you a Greek letter of a certain Cicereius to Satrius. Our friend Flavius⁴ in a dispute that he has with the people of Dyrrachium about an inheritance has named you as arbitrator: I beg you, Cicero, as does Flavius also, to settle this business. There is no doubt that the town owed money to the man who made Flavius his heir, nor do the Dyrrachini deny it, but they allege that they received from Cæsar a remission of their debt. Don't allow your friends⁵ to do a wrong to a friend of mine.

19 May, in camp at Ima Candavia.

¹ In the college of pontifices, for which Cicero asked his son to stand (see p. 227). I think by *aut commendationem*, Brutus means politely to hint that he is sure of getting it, though of course there will be the form of election.

² Glyco was said to have poisoned Pansa's wounds, and Octavian's enemies asserted that he did so at his instigation—a scandal that took a long time dying out (see Suet. *Aug.* 11; Tacitus, *A. i.* 10). Torquatus was Pansa's quæstor.

³ L. Tillius Cimber, who struck the first blow in the assassination of Cæsar (Suet. *Iul.* 82). He went afterwards—in virtue of Cæsar's nomination—to the governorship of Bithynia. In the course of the next year (B.C. 42) he came to Macedonia with a fleet to aid Brutus and Cassius. He fell at Philippi, or immediately afterwards.

⁴ *Præfectus fabrum* of Brutus. See p. 250.

⁵ The people of Dyrrachium had for some years had some special connexion with Cicero. He may have acted for them in some way. See vol. i., p. 175.

DCCCLXIV (BRUT. I, 7)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

(MACEDONIA, LATTER PART OF MAY)

No one can better judge than you how dear Lucius Bibulus ought to be to me, considering his great struggles and anxieties on behalf of the Republic. Accordingly, his own excellence as well as our intimacy ought to make him your friend. I think myself therefore obliged to write at the less length: for a wish of mine ought to influence you, provided that it is equitable and is conceived in fulfilment of a necessary duty. He has resolved to stand for the place of Pansa.¹ I beg you therefore to nominate him.² You cannot do a favour to any man more closely attached than we are to you, nor can you nominate a more deserving man than Bibulus. What need to write about Domitius and Appuleius, seeing that they are most warmly recommended to you by their own merits? To Appuleius certainly you are bound to lend the protection of your influence—but Appuleius's praises shall be sung in the special letter he brings with him. Do not fail to take Bibulus to your bosom—a man, believe me, who may develop into the sort of character to deserve your most select praises.

¹ Two of the sons of Bibulus perished in a mutiny at Alexandria, and in B.C. 50 we find him trying in vain to get a third surviving son elected augur. This L. Calpurnius Bibulus may be a son of Porcia, and therefore stepson to Brutus, of whom he lived to write a memoir (vol. ii., p. 184).

² To the augurship.

DCCCLXV (F X, 34, §§ 1, 2)

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS TO CICERO (AT
ROME)

PONS ARGENTEUS (18 MAY)

IF you are well, I am glad. I am well. Having been informed that Antony, after sending Lucius Antonius in advance with a detachment of his cavalry, was coming with his forces into my province, I moved with my army from the confluence of the Rhone¹ and determined to oppose them. Accordingly, I have come by daily marches to Forum Voconii,² and to the east of that town I have pitched a camp on the river Argens opposite the Antonians. Publius Ventidius has united his three legions with him and has pitched a camp still farther to the east. Antony had before this junction the fifth legion, and a large number of men drawn from the other legions, but without arms. He has a large force of cavalry: for it got away after the battle without loss, so that there are more than five thousand troopers. A large number of infantry and cavalry have deserted to me from him, and his force is shrinking every day. Silanus and Culleo have abandoned him.³ Although they had done me a serious wrong in hav-

¹ The confluence of the Rhone and the Durance, near Avignon.

² A station on the *via Aurelia*, but its exact site is uncertain. Mr. Hall (*The Romans on the Riviera*, p. 183) places it in the territory of *le Luc*, twenty-four Roman miles west of Fréjus.

³ M. Iunius Silanus was a son of Servilia by her second husband, D. Iunius Silanus, and therefore half-brother of Marcus Brutus and brother-in-law of Lepidus. He commanded the prætorian cohort in Antony's army, and fought at Mutina. He survived to be consul in B.C. 25. His connexion with Lepidus no doubt caused his present move. According to Dio (46, 38), he had been sent by Lepidus to assist Decimus at Mutina with the secret understanding that he was to do nothing. Q. Terentius Culleo—mentioned once or twice before—must have been a rather lukewarm Cæsarian (see vol. i., p. 162; vol. ii., p. 301). Lepidus had, however, stationed him on the pass over the Maritime Alps—the Riviera—but probably by connivance of Lepidus himself he

ing joined Antony contrary to my wish, yet for kindness' sake, and in view of our close connexion, I have granted them their lives, but I am not employing them, nor allowing them to remain in camp, and I have not given them any command. As far as this war is concerned, I shall not be wanting in my duty to the senate nor to the Republic. I will keep you acquainted with my future proceedings.¹

DCCCLXVI (F X, 18)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

GAUL, 18 MAY

WHAT I had in my mind when Lævus and Nerva quitted me you have been able to ascertain by the letter which I forwarded by them and from these men personally, who have taken part in all my actions and consultations. There has happened to me what usually does happen to a man of honour and one who is desirous of doing his duty to the state, in fact to all good men, that I preferred to pursue a dangerous course with an approving conscience, rather than a safe one which might lay me open to some reproach.

Accordingly, after the departure of his legates, as Lepidus in two successive letters begged me to join him, and Laterensis still more strongly begged me to do so in terms almost of entreaty—shewing no dread of anything except what causes me also some alarm, the fickleness and untrustworthy temper of his army—I thought I ought not to hesitate about hurrying to his assistance and confronting the common danger. Now the safe course for me was to wait on the Isère till Dec. Brutus got his army across the mountains, and to go to meet the enemy with a colleague in sympathy with my views and an army in full accord and well-affected to the

had not opposed Antony's passage, and indeed seems to have joined him (App. B. C. iii. 83).

¹ On the 29th of May Lepidus joined Antony.

Republic, as his soldiers are. Nevertheless I knew that if Lepidus while entertaining loyal ideas came to any harm, it would all be laid to the charge either of my obstinacy or my timidity. I saw plainly that this would be so, if I either failed to relieve a man closely united with the Republic, though on bad terms with myself, or had myself withdrawn from the struggle in a war of such moment. So I preferred to run the risk, and to see whether my presence might afford Lepidus protection and render his army better-affected, rather than appear over-cautious. At any rate I think there never was anyone more anxious, without any fault of his own, than myself. For the very situation which was causing me no hesitation, supposing Lepidus's army away, in the present state of things brings me great anxiety and involves great risk. For if it had been my fortune to encounter Antony first, he would not, by heaven, have held his ground an hour. So confident do I feel in myself and so completely do I despise his demoralized forces and the division of Ventidius the mule-man.¹ But I cannot but shudder at the idea of some hidden wound, which may cause mischief before it can be known and treated. But certainly unless I had remained on the same ground Lepidus himself and the well-affected part of his army would have incurred great danger. The unscrupulous enemy also would have secured a great accession of force, if they had withdrawn any of his troops from Lepidus. And if my arrival has stopped these things occurring I shall thank my stars and my own firmness, which incited me to make this experiment. Therefore on the 20th of May I broke up my camp on the Isère: I left the bridge standing, however, which I had constructed over that river, with a fort placed at each end of it; and in them I stationed strong garrisons, that there might be a means of crossing without delay ready for Brutus and his army when he came.² I shall myself, I hope, in eight days from the despatch of this letter effect a junction with the forces of Lepidus.

¹ P. Ventidius Bassus had in earlier life contracted for the supply of mules to Cæsar's army. It was in that capacity that he seems to have attracted Cæsar's notice and confidence.

² Decimus Brutus was at Eporedia (Ivrée), ready to cross by the Little St. Bernard pass, which would bring him into Provence, and in his march south he would have to cross the Isère.

DCCCLXVII (F XI, 18)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (NEAR VERCELLÆ)

ROME, 19 MAY

THOUGH from the message which you gave to Galba and Volumnius for the senate I have a good guess as to what you thought was the danger ahead, yet the message seemed to me to be less confident than suited the victory gained by yourself and the Roman people. The senate, however, my dear Brutus, is resolute and has resolute leaders. It was therefore somewhat hurt that it should be considered timid and spiritless by you, whom it considered the bravest of men. For considering that even when you were invested everybody retained the most confident hope in your valour, though Antony was in full vigour, who could be afraid of anything after he had been defeated and you released? Nor, indeed, are we afraid of Lepidus. For who in the world could expect him to be such a madman as, after saying in the midst of a most formidable war that he desired peace, to proclaim war against the Republic after the ardently desired peace had been obtained? And I do not doubt your seeing farther ahead than we can. But nevertheless a renewal of alarm so soon after the thanksgiving which we offered at all the temples in your name does cause bitter disappointment. Therefore, for my part, my wish is—as it is my hope—that Antony has been entirely ruined and crushed: but if he has by chance collected some forces, he shall feel that the senate is not without wisdom, nor the Roman people without valour, nor the Republic—as long as you are alive—without a general.

19 May.

DCCCLXVIII (F X, 17)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT
ROME)

NEAR FORUM VOCONII, 20 MAY

ON the 15th of May Antony reached Forum Iulii with his advanced guard. Ventidius is two days' march behind him. Lepidus is encamped at Forum Voconii, which is twenty-four miles from Forum Iulii, and has settled to await me there, as he has himself written to tell me. But if neither Lepidus himself nor fortune disappoints me in any way, I pledge myself to finish this business quickly in the manner in which you in the senate desire. I told you in a previous letter that my brother was ill, worn out by continuous work and rapid movements. Nevertheless, as soon as he could set foot to ground, considering that his restored health was not his own more than the state's, he was for leading the forlorn hope everywhere. But I have not merely urged, I have forced him to start for Rome—partly on the grounds that in his state of health he was more likely to wear himself to death than to assist me in camp, and partly because I thought that the Republic, having been left bare by the most regrettable death of the consuls, required the presence of such an eminent citizen as prætor for the conduct of city business. But if any of you at Rome disapprove, let it be known that it was I that lacked prudence in counsel, not he fidelity to his country. After all, Lepidus did what I wanted him to do—he sent me Apella to hold as a hostage of his good faith and of his co-operation in the public service. In that business I was well satisfied with the services of L. Gellius,¹ whom I employed as my last emissary to

¹ After this name the MSS. have *ex tribus fratribus Segaviano*, which appear to have no meaning. We know nothing of this L. Gellius. If he was a Romanized Gaul, the right reading may be *ex tribus fratribus Segallaunis*, "one of three brothers of the Segallauni," a people living round *Valence* on the Rhone.

Lepidus. I think that I ascertained him to be attached to the Republic, and it will give me pleasure to testify to him and to all who serve the state well. Take care of your health, return my affection for you, and defend my position, if I deserve it, as you have done up to this time with remarkable kindness.

DCCCLXIX (BRUT. I, 1)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (LATE IN MAY)

L. CLODIUS,¹ tribune-designate, is much attached to me, or, to speak with more *empressement*, loves me dearly. And when I am assured of that I feel certain—for you know me—that you will conclude that I love him: for nothing seems to me less human than not to give an answering affection to those by whom one's love is challenged. He seemed to me to suspect, much to his chagrin, that some unfavourable report had reached you from his friends, or rather through his enemies, by which your feelings were alienated from him. It is not my habit, my dear Brutus, as I think you know, to make rash statements about another man. It is a risky thing to do, owing to the secret feelings and complicated natures of mankind. But I have seen to the bottom of Clodius's heart: I know it, and have formed my judgment of it. There are many proofs of it, but such as I need not write down, for I want you to regard this as a solemn deposition rather than a letter. He has been promoted by Antony—though a large share even of that very favour has its origin in you—and accordingly he would wish his safety so long as it is compatible with ours. But he fully understands—for he is no fool, as you are aware—that matters have come to such a point that both cannot be preserved; accordingly he prefers us. As to yourself, indeed, he both speaks and feels in the most affectionate manner. Where-

¹ Vol. ii., p. 19; vol. iii., p. 224.

fore, if anyone has written to you or spoken to you by word of mouth disparagingly of him, I beg you again and again to believe me rather than them. I have greater opportunity of judging than any such casual observer, and I am more devoted to you. Make up your mind that Clodius is most warmly attached to you, and is such a citizen as a man of the greatest sense and most ample fortune is bound to be.

DCCCLXX (BRUT. I, 2, §§ 1-3)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (LATE IN MAY)

WHEN I had already written and sealed a despatch to you, a letter from you was delivered to me full of startling intelligence. But the most surprising of all was that Dolabella had sent five cohorts¹ into the Chersonese.² Is he so flush of troops that a man who was said to be in flight from Asia is now attempting to get a foothold in Europe? With five cohorts, moreover, what did he think that he could do when you had five legions,³ a splendid body of cavalry, and very large auxiliary forces? These same cohorts, I hope, by this time are in your hands, since that outlaw has been so insensate. I strongly commend your policy in not having moved your army from Apollonia and Dyrrachium, until you heard of the flight of Antony, of Decimus Brutus having broken out of Mutina, and of the victory of the Roman people. Accordingly, in saying that you had afterwards resolved to lead your army into the Chersonese, and not to suffer the government of the Roman people to be a laughing-stock to an enemy stained with the worst of crimes, you are acting in the interests of your own position and of the Re-

¹ That is, half a legion.

² The Thracian Chersonese.

³ Brutus seems to have had five legions originally. He added one when he took Gaius Antonius, and enlisted two more in the province (App. B. C. iii. 79).

public. You speak of an outbreak in the fourteenth legion on account of Gaius Antonius ; you will excuse my saying that I am in sympathy with the severity of the soldiers rather than with yours.¹

DCCCLXXI (F XI, 19)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

VERCELLÆ, 21 MAY

I SHOULD wish you to read over first the despatch which I have sent the senate and make any alterations you think right. You will notice that I could not avoid writing it : for while I thought that the fourth and Martian legions would be serving with me,² in accordance with the motion of Drusus and Paullus, with the support of you senators, I thought I need not much concern myself about anything else. In present circumstances, however, when I am accompanied by the most ill-equipped raw recruits, it is inevitable that I should be much alarmed both on my own account and on yours. The people of Vicetia shew very great attention to me and Marcus Brutus. I beg you to see that no wrong is done them in the senate on the question concerning their home-born slaves. They have a

¹ Reading, with Mueller, *quarta decima Antoni . . . magis mihi probatur militum severitas quam tua*. If this is right, what seems to have happened is that the fourteenth legion were guilty of a riotous demonstration against Gaius Antonius, which Brutus punished as a breach of military discipline. Appian (*B. C.* iii. 79) says that Antonius was eventually put to death for tampering with the legions ; Plutarch (*Brut.* 28) that he was put to death by Brutus in retaliation for the murder of Cicero. In that case it was not till December ; but Cicero evidently shews that he was in favour of getting rid of him in any way. According to Dio (47, 24), Brutus left him at Apollonia—when he went to Asia—under the charge of Gaius Clodius, who put him to death to prevent his being rescued by his brother Marcus.

² The senate transferred the legions of the dead consuls to Decimus Brutus (*App. B. C.* iii. 74). But the fourth and the Martia had joined Octavian, and refused to be so transferred.

very strong case, are very loyal to the Republic, and have a class of men opposed to them seditious and extremely idle.¹

DCCCLXXII (F X, 34, §§ 3, 4)

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

PONS ARGENTEUS, 22 MAY

M. LEPIDUS, a second time imperator,² Pontifex Maximus, greets Marcus Tullius Cicero. Though at every period we have vied with each other, in the interchange of good offices in a manner worthy of our mutual friendship, and have both been careful to keep them up, still I have no doubt that in such a sudden disturbance of political affairs some reports about me have been conveyed to you in groundless rumours by my detractors, sufficient greatly to agitate your mind in view of your devotion to the Republic. That you have been cautious in receiving them, and have not judged it right to believe them without inquiry, I have been informed by my agents. This is exceedingly gratifying to me, as it is bound to be. For I remember what on a previous occasion your kindness prompted you to do in order to promote and enhance my position: and it will ever remain fixed in my heart. I earnestly beg of you, my dear Cicero, if you have proof of my life and of my zeal in the most careful performance of public duties being worthy of the name of

¹ We know nothing of the circumstance. The *verna*, "home-born slaves," had apparently been set free on some conditions (as was not unusual) which they disputed or refused to fulfil. Vicetia is the modern *Vicenza* between Padua and Verona.

² This is the title by acclamation given to a successful commander by his soldiers. It could not properly be given more than once in the same war. Lepidus must therefore refer to some prior campaign (Dio, 70, 21). The official heading of the letter, as well as its style, denotes that Lepidus felt the awkwardness of his position, which he veils under the most stiff and formal language. It will be observed that with much bombast Lepidus contrives to say nothing whatever. He was only seven days from his formal coalition with Antony (p. 281).

Lepidus, to expect equal or even more splendid services in the future, and to think accordingly that I am one who deserves the protection of your authority, in proportion as your good services make me deeper in your debt. Good-bye.

22 May, in camp at the bridge over the Argens.

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DCCCLXXIII (F XI, 20)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

EPOREDIA, 24 MAY

WHAT I don't do for myself my love for you and your kindnesses to me force me to do—to fear. For though I have often heard the story before, and never thought lightly of it, quite recently Segulius Labeo—and it was exactly like him—tells me that he has been in Cæsar's company, and that there was a great deal of talk about you. That Cæsar himself had no complaint to make against you, except as to an epigram which he said that you uttered: "that the young man must be complimented, honoured, and—got rid of."¹ He said that he did not mean to give them the chance of getting rid of him. I believe for my part that Labeo told him this epigram or made it up himself, and that it was not mentioned first by the young man. As for the veterans, Labeo would have me believe that their language is abominable, that you are in imminent danger from them, and that they are exceedingly indignant at neither Cæsar nor myself being among the ten commissioners,² and at everything being put in the hands of your party. Having heard these stories, and being already on the march, I did not think that I ought to allow myself to cross the Alps until I knew what was going on with you in Rome. For as to your danger, believe me they hope by swaggering language and threats of danger to

¹ The point of the jest is in the double meaning of *tollendum*, "to be raised" and "to be removed" (see p. 191).

² To undo the *acta* of Antony and arrange for the assignation of land to the veterans.

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make great profit for themselves, when they have cowed you and egged on the young man, and that all that talk about your epigram has one origin—their desire to do as good a stroke of business as possible. Not, however, that I wouldn't have you be cautious and avoid traps: for nothing can be dearer and more precious to me than your life. Take care that you are not forced to be still more afraid by being timid, and that you meet the wishes of the veterans by whatever means that can be done. First, do what they want about the commission of ten. Next, as to rewards, vote, if you think good, that the lands of those veteran soldiers who have served with Antony be transferred to them by both Cæsar and myself. As for the coinage, tell them that the senate with deliberation, and after a full investigation of the money, will authoritatively settle that business. For the four legions¹ to whom you in the senate have voted that lands should be given, I see there will be enough land to draw upon from the confiscations of Sulla and the territory of Capua. I think these lands should be given to the legions share and share alike, or by drawing lots. It is no particular wisdom of mine that makes me write this to you, but my love for you and my yearning for peace, which cannot be firmly secured without you. Unless it is absolutely necessary I shall not quit Italy. I am arming and preparing my legions. I hope that I shall have an army that will not be very unfit to grapple with all chances of fortune and all attacks of men. From the army commanded by Pansa Cæsar does not intend to allow a legion to join me. Please answer this letter at once, or if the matter is very confidential, and one which you think I ought to know, send one of your men.

24 May, Eporedia.

¹ Those with Octavian—the fourth, the Martia, and the two veteran legions which he had raised.

DCCCLXXIV (F XI, 23)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

EPOREDIA, 25 MAY

WE are all well here, and I shall do my best to make us better. Lepidus seems to us to be fairly well disposed. Having got rid of every fear, we ought to consult for the interests of the state with freedom. But if everything else went wrong, yet with three such great armies devoted to the service of the Republic in full force, you ought to have the high courage which you have always kept, and can now by the blessing of fortune increase. As to what I told you under my hand in my previous letter—it is all mere talk meant to bluff you. If you once get the bit between your teeth, may I die if all of them put together will be able to stand against you when you start speaking. As I told you in my last letter, I shall remain in Italy till a letter from you reaches me.

25 May, Eporadia.

DCCCLXXV (F X, 19)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GAUL)

ROME (27 MAY)

THOUGH I do not look for formal thanks from you,¹ since I know that you are most grateful in fact and from your heart, nevertheless—for I must confess the truth—they were very gratifying to me. For I seem to see, as though it were something actually visible to the eye, that I am beloved by you. You will say, "What did you think before?" Well,

¹ See pp. 236, 254.

I always knew it, but never with greater clearness. Your despatch was wonderfully liked by the senate, both for the facts it contained, which were of the utmost importance and significance, indicating supreme courage and consummate strategy, and also for the impressiveness of its sentiments and language. But, my dear Plancus, push on with all your might and finish the last struggles of the war. In this you will find the greatest popularity and glory. Of course the object of all my desires is the Republic : but, by heaven, I am by this time tired out with my efforts to save it, and am now not more earnest in favour of my country than of your glory. To win that the immortal gods have now given you a unique opportunity, as I hope. Embrace it, I beseech you. For the man who crushes Antony will have brought a most abominable and dangerous war to an end.

DCCCLXXVI (F X, 25)

TO GAIUS FURNIUS (IN GAUL WITH PLANCUS)

ROME (26-30 MAY)

IF it is of importance to the Republic—as is the general belief—that you should complete the work in the same spirit as you have begun to do it and have actually done it, and that you should take part in the important operations for extinguishing the last sparks of the war, I think you can do nothing better or more laudable or more to your honour : and in my opinion this labour, activity, and patriotic spirit on your part is to be preferred to any hurrying on of the prætorship. For I would not have you ignorant of the amount of reputation which you have gained. Believe me, it is second only to Plancus, and that too on the testimony of Plancus himself, as well as by the report and knowledge of everybody else. Wherefore, if there is still any labour left for you to perform, my opinion is that you should throw yourself into it with energy. What can be more to your honour ? And what is to be preferred to honour ? But if

you think that you have done all you are bound to do for the state, I think you should come with all speed to the *comitia*, for they are likely to take place early: provided only that this hurry to secure office does not detract in any way from the glory which we have secured. There have been many very illustrious men who, being abroad on the public service, have missed their proper year for canvassing. And this is easier in our case, because this is not the year marked out for you, on the principle that if you had been *ædile* your year would have been two years later.¹ As it is, you will appear not to omit any of the customary observance, and what is a quasi-statutory period of canvassing.² Moreover, I foresee that with Plancus consul³ (although even without him your path would be clear) your canvass would be after all more brilliant, provided that the campaign on which you are now engaged shall have been brought to the conclusion we desire. On the whole I don't think that there is much need for me to write any more, considering your great prudence and judgment, yet nevertheless I was unwilling that you should be ignorant of my opinion: the upshot of which is that I would rather you should judge of everything by consideration for your true position than from the chance of official promotion, and should look for your reward in a lasting reputation rather than in a rapid attainment of the *prætorship*. This was the gist of what I said in my house at a conference with my brother Quintus, Cæcina, and Calvisius—all men most devoted to you—your freedman Dardanus being also present. My speech seemed to be approved by all of them. But after all you will judge best for yourself.

¹ The rule was that a full year must elapse between the *ædileship* and election to the *prætorship*—that is, two full years between the actual holding of the two offices. Thus, if Furnius had been *ædile* in B.C. 44, he could only have been elected *prætor* in B.C. 42, and held the *prætorship* in B.C. 41.

² The law required a *professio* seventeen days (*trinundinum*) before the election. The year's canvassing was a matter of custom, not law, but of such common custom that Cicero calls it "quasi-statutory."

³ Plancus was consul-designate for B.C. 42.

DCCCLXXVII (F X, 16)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (AT CULARO)

ROME (27 MAY)

NEVER within living memory have I seen anything happen, Plancus, more glorious, more welcome, or more exactly in the nick of time, than your despatch. For it was delivered to Cornutus¹ in a full meeting of the senate just after he had read aloud the cold and shuffling despatch of Lepidus. Immediately after it yours was read and was received with loud cheers. For it was not only most welcome for the actual news it contained and the zeal and good services to the state which it implied, but its language and sentiments were also most impressive. Cries were raised that Cornutus should at once bring forward a motion arising from your despatch. He said that he wished time for consideration. When this had brought down on him a severe remonstrance from the whole senate, five of the tribunes brought forward a motion. Servilius² being called upon voted for postponing the business. I then delivered an opinion with which they all agreed to a man. What it was you will learn from the decree itself. As for you, though you are in no want of prudence, or rather have enough and to spare, you ought yet to resolve to refer nothing here, nor in the midst of such sudden and pressing emergencies to think yourself bound to ask advice from the senate. Be your own senate, and follow wherever the interest of the public service shall lead you. Let it be your object that we hear of some brilliant operation by you before we thought that it was going to happen. I pledge my word to you that whatever you achieve the senate will accept as having been done not merely with loyal intention, but also with wisdom.

¹ Prætor Urbanus, presiding in absence of consuls. See pp. 207, 215.

² P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus. Cicero thinks him always too lenient towards the party of Antony (see p. 207). He had been Cæsar's colleague in the consulship of B.C. 48. Though so much junior to Cicero as a consular, he seems to have been called on first.

DCCCLXXVIII (F XII, 14)

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER¹ TO
CICERO (AT ROME)

PERGA, 29 MAY

HAVING been to see our friend Brutus * and discovered that he was not coming to Asia for some time, I returned to Asia to finish off the arrears of my business and to transmit the money² to Rome as soon as possible. Meanwhile I was informed that Dolabella's fleet was in Lycia, and more than a hundred ships of burden, on board which his army might be embarked; and that Dolabella's plan was that, if he was disappointed of his hopes of getting possession of Syria, he should take ship and make for Italy, and there join the Antonies and the other outlaws. That so alarmed me that, throwing all other business aside, I endeavoured to reach these ships with a fleet of fewer and smaller vessels. And had I not been hindered by the Rhodians, that force would have perhaps been entirely destroyed. After all, it was to a great extent put out of action; for the fleet itself was scattered in all directions by the terror of our approach, the soldiers and officers took flight, the ships of burden, to the last vessel, fell into our hands. At least, I think I have secured—what was causing the greatest alarm—that Dolabella

¹ P. Cornelius Lentulus Spintther, son of the consul of B.C. 57, of whom, as well as of his father, we have heard much before, was one of those who, according to Plutarch (*Cæs.* 67), though not actually engaged in Cæsar's assassination, joined the assassins on the Capitol and professed to have been in the plot. He was now in Asia, whither he had gone as quæstor with Trebonius. His year of quæstorship being over at the end of B.C. 44, he is now proquæstor, as having had no successor appointed.

² After the murder of Trebonius, Lentulus went into Macedonia to ask the advice of Brutus (see p. 276). Brutus and Cassius had received special authority over all provinces east of the Adriatic from the senate (App. *B. C.* iii. 63).

³ Of the taxes, which he would receive as quæstor.

cannot reach Italy, nor make your difficulties greater by reinforcing his allies. How completely the Rhodians thought that it was all over with us and the Republic you will learn from my public despatch. And indeed I have written much more mildly about their delusion than I found it in real fact to be. But do not be surprised at my having mentioned them in my despatch at all, for their infatuation is really surprising. I was not moved by any private wrong received from them at any time ; it was their ill-will in a matter involving our lives, their violent adherence to the other side, the persistent disrespect shewn by them to all the best loyalists, that were intolerable to me. Yet after all I don't think that they were all bad men : but that same party of them who in old times refused to receive my father in his flight,¹ L. Lentulus,² Pompey,³ and other men of the greatest distinction, these same men, I say, as though by some fatality are now either actual magistrates or have those who are in office in their power. And so they shew the same proud obstinacy in their malice. That the evil propensities of these men should sooner or later be checked, and that we should not allow them to increase by impunity, is not only to the advantage of the Republic, but absolutely necessary.

I hope you will continue as before to defend my position whenever you get an opportunity, and in the senate and elsewhere give your support to my reputation. Since Asia has been assigned by decree to the consuls,⁴ and they have been allowed until their arrival to commit the administration to the magistrates now in possession, I beg you to ask them to select me before anyone else for this position, and to commit the administration of Asia to me till one or the other of them

¹ From Pharsalia. See vol. iii., p. 31.

² Consul B.C. 49.

³ The refusal of the Rhodians to receive Pompey is not mentioned by any other authority. Appian (*B. C.* iii. 83) says that he was accompanied to Egypt by some triremes from Rhodes. Cæsar (*B. C.* iii. 102) tells the story of the exclusion of the two Lentuli. It was at Cyprus and Antioch apparently that Pompey met with rebuffs.

⁴ That is, Hirtius and Pansa, of whose death Lentulus is still ignorant. They would in the ordinary course of things draw lots for it. Meanwhile the senate had given Brutus and Cassius a general superintendence of all the provinces between the Adriatic and Syria (*App. B. C.* iv. 58).

arrives. For there is no reason for their hurrying hither during their year of office or sending an army. For Dolabella is in Syria, and, as you have foreseen in your prophetic soul and have foretold, Cassius will crush him while they are on their way. For Dolabella has had the gates of Antioch shut in his face and got a good beating in trying to storm it. Not trusting in any other city, he has betaken himself to Laodicea, on the sea-coast of Syria. There I hope he will speedily pay the penalty of his crime: for he has no place of refuge, nor will he much longer be able there to stand out against an army as large as that of Cassius. I even hope that Dolabella has by this time been overpowered and crushed. Wherefore I don't suppose that Pansa and Hirtius will hurry themselves to go to their provinces whilst they are consuls, but will conduct the consulship at Rome. Therefore, if you will ask them to give me the administration of Asia in the meantime, I hope you may be able to get it for me. Besides, Pansa and Hirtius promised me personally, and wrote to me when I was away, and Pansa faithfully promised our friend Verrius that he would see to no successor being appointed for me during their consulship. It is not, upon my honour, from any special desire of a province that I wish my period of office prolonged; for this province has been to me the source of much labour, danger, and loss. And I am very anxious that I may not have undergone all these in vain, nor be forced to leave it before I wind up what, in spite of my diligence, there still remains to be done. For if I had been able to send the whole sum which I have levied, I should have asked to be relieved. As it is, I want to get in and make up what I have advanced to Cassius, what I have lost by the death of Trebonius, or by the cruelty of Dolabella, or the perfidy of those who have not kept their word with me and the Republic. And this cannot be done unless I have time. Pray take care—as is your habit—that I get my wish through you. I think my services to the state have been sufficient to give me a right to expect not only the reward of this province, but as much as Cassius and the two Bruti got, not only because I shared in that glorious deed and the danger of it, but also from the zeal and integrity of my conduct now. For I was the first to defy the laws passed by Antony; I was the first to bring over Dolabella's cavalry to the Re-

public and hand them on to Cassius ; I was the first to hold a levy to protect the common safety against a most criminal conspiracy. I was the sole cause of Syria and the armies in it being put under the authority of Cassius and the Republic. For unless I had handed to Cassius such a large sum of money and such strong forces, and with such promptitude, he would not have even had the courage to enter Syria, and at this moment no less dangers would have been threatening the Republic from Dolabella than from Antony. And then, too, I did all this though I was a club-fellow and most intimate friend of Dolabella, most closely allied in blood to the Antonies, and, moreover, in possession of a province by their favour ; yet, "loving my country more,"¹ I was the first to proclaim war against men who were all my friends. Though I am aware that these things have as yet not brought me much profit, nevertheless I do not despair, nor shall I be prevented by fatigue from abiding not merely in my passion for freedom, but also in labour and dangers. Still, after all, if I am encouraged by some just and well-deserved credit through the good offices of the senate and aristocracy, I shall enjoy a greater prestige with others, and be able to be so much the more serviceable to the Republic. I could not see your son when I visited Brutus, because he had already started with the cavalry into winter quarters, but upon my honour I am rejoiced at the reputation he enjoys, both for your sake and his, and especially for mine. For he is like a brother to me, as being your son and worthy of you. Good-bye.

29 May, Perga.

¹ φιλῶ τέκν' ἄλλα πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶν, said to be from the *Erechtheus* of Euripides.

DCCCLXXIX (F XII, 15)

P. LENTULUS, PROQUÆSTOR, PROPRÆTOR,¹
TO THE CONSULS, PRÆTORS, TRIBUNES,
SENATE, AND ROMAN PEOPLE

PERGA, 29 MAY-2 JUNE

IF you and your children are well, I am glad. I am well. Asia having been overrun by the criminal proceedings of Dolabella, I betook myself to the neighbouring province of Macedonia and to those defences of the Republic which the honourable citizen Marcus Brutus had under his command, and urged that the province of Asia and its revenues should be restored to your authority by those who could do so most promptly. This alarmed Dolabella, and therefore, after plundering the province, seizing its revenues, selecting Roman citizens especially to beggar and sell up, he quitted Asia quicker than the protecting force could be brought into it. I therefore did not think it necessary to delay any longer, nor to wait for the garrison, and I conceived that I ought to return at the earliest opportunity to my duty, in order that I might both collect the arrears of revenue and call in the money I had deposited, and ascertain as soon as possible what part of it had been seized, or by whose fault that had occurred, and inform you about the whole affair.

Meanwhile on my voyage by the island route² into Asia I

¹ The title of *proquæstor* was explained in a note to the previous letter: that of *proprætor* arose from the fact that, as there was no regular *prætorius* or *consularis* in the province (Trebonius being killed), and as the senate had committed the province to the consuls, Lentulus's position was that of *legatus* to the consuls, and in that case he exercised prætorial functions, and his regular designation was *legatus pro prætore*. A few years later Augustus used this title for all governors of imperial provinces.

² As opposed to crossing the Hellespont, reached by the coast road from Macedonia. *Per insulas* is the technical expression for this route, translating the Greek *διὰ νήσων*.

was met by the information that Dolabella's fleet was in Lycia, and that the Rhodians had a number of vessels fully equipped and ready launched. Accordingly, with the ships which either I had brought with me or the proquæstor Patiscus had secured—a man very closely united to me both by intimate friendship and political sympathies—I diverted my course to Rhodes, trusting in your authority and the decree of the senate, by which you had declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also in the treaty which had been renewed with them in the consulship of M. Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius,¹ in which the Rhodians had sworn to have the same enemies as the senate and Roman people. However, I found myself entirely mistaken. For so far from our strengthening our fleet by any assistance from them, our soldiers were even warned off by the Rhodians from city, harbour, the roadstead outside the city, from purchasing provisions, and finally even from taking in water; while I myself was only just allowed to approach in a single boat. This insult and derogation from the dignity, not only of my official position, but also of the imperial position of the Roman people, I did not resent, because from an intercepted despatch I had learnt that Dolabella, if he had despaired of Syria and Egypt—as was certain to happen—was prepared to embark on board his ships with all his outlaws and all his money and make for Italy; and that for that purpose also some transports, not one of which was less than 2,000 amphoræ burden,² collected in Lycia were being guarded by his fleet. Dismayed by the alarming nature of this report, fathers of the senate, I preferred to submit to the insult and to try first every means, though involving personal indignities. Therefore, being in accordance with their wishes introduced into the city and senate, I pleaded the cause of the Republic with the greatest earnestness of which I was capable, and stated the whole danger of the situation which threatened us, if that outlaw embarked with all his forces. But I found the Rhodians to be so utterly misguided, that they thought the loyalists were the weakest of all parties: that they were more ready to disbelieve in the existing unanimity and agreement of all orders in the defence of liberty: that they were

¹ B.C. 51.² About sixty tons burden.

confident that the tolerance of the senate and the aristocracy was even now what it had been before, and that no one would have the courage to declare Dolabella a public enemy: in fact that they regarded as true all the figments of the traitors rather than what had really taken place and was being stated by me. It was with these views that even before my arrival, after the atrocious murder of Trebonius and numerous other abominable crimes, two embassies from them had gone to Dolabella, and that too contrary to all precedent,¹ it being against their own laws, and in spite of the prohibition of the then existing magistrates. Though they might easily have applied a remedy for this crisis, they refused to do so. I don't know whether it was, as they give out, from fear for the lands which they possess on the continent, or from the infatuation or tolerance of a few politicians who on previous occasions equally insulted men of the highest rank² and now do so to those actually in the chief offices, without precedent and without provocation from us. They refused—I say—in spite of the danger threatening us who were on the spot, and of that which threatened Italy and our city, if that murderer with his crew of outlaws sailed to Italy after being expelled from Asia and Syria. Some of us even suspected the magistrates of having detained us and of having wasted time until Dolabella's fleet was informed of our arrival. And this suspicion was deepened by several things that occurred afterwards, especially by the fact that Dolabella's legates Sextus Marius and Gaius Titius suddenly quitted the fleet on the Lycian coast and fled on board a ship of war, abandoning the transports, in the collection of which they had spent considerable time and labour. Accordingly, when we arrived at Lycia from Rhodes with the ships then in our possession, we took over the transports and sent them back to their owners. Thus we ceased to feel what had been our chief fear—that Dolabella might find means to reach Italy with his outlaws. We pursued his flying fleet as far as Sida, which is the farthest district of my province. There I ascertained that some of Dolabella's ships had scattered and fled, that the rest had made for Syria and Cyprus. These being thus dispersed, as

¹ Because they always dealt directly with the senate.

² See previous letter, p. 273.

I knew that the very large fleet of the eminent citizen and general Cassius would be ready to meet him in Syria, I returned to my official duties : as I shall do my best, fathers of the senate, to give you and the Republic the full benefit of my zeal and industry ; and as to money—I will collect as much as I can and with the greatest possible promptness, and will send it by every means in my power. When I have made a tour of my province and have ascertained who have been faithful to us and to the Republic in safeguarding the money which I deposited with them, and who are guilty of actually handing over public money and by this gift entering into a partnership with Dolabella in his crimes, I will inform you. And if you will pass a severe sentence, should it so please you, upon these men and back me up by the weight of your authority, I shall be able with greater ease both to collect the arrears of revenue and keep that already collected safe. Meantime, in order more thoroughly to protect the revenues and to defend my province from ill-treatment, I have enrolled a guard formed of volunteers and only such as was absolutely necessary.¹

After I had written this despatch,² about thirty soldiers, whom Dolabella had enlisted in Asia, escaping from Syria arrived in Pamphylia. They brought word that Dolabella had arrived at Antioch in Syria : that not being admitted he made several attempts to force an entry, but had always been repulsed with great loss ; and accordingly after losing about 600 men, abandoning his sick, he retreated by night from Antioch towards Laodicea : that in that night nearly all his Asiatic soldiers deserted him : that of these about 800 returned to Antioch and surrendered to the officers commanding the city who had been left there by Cassius : that the rest crossed Mount Amanus and descended into Cilicia, to which number they said that they also belonged themselves :

¹ Asia as a peaceful province had no regular army stationed in it. A few cohorts accompanied a proconsul or proprætor as a bodyguard.

² This is evidently a postscript to the preceding despatch, written a few days later and sent with it, and at the same time as the private letter to Cicero which precedes. Tyrrell and Purser arrange it as a separate letter ; but I think nothing is gained and something lost by that, and I have followed Mueller therefore in maintaining the old arrangement.

finally, that Cassius with his whole force was reported to be four days' march from Laodicea at the time when Dolabella was pressing on to that town. Wherefore I feel sure that a most villainous outlaw will be punished sooner than I thought.

2 June, Perga.

DCCCLXXX (F X, 20)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (IN GAUL)

ROME, 29 MAY

ALL the news from your part of the world is so uncertain that nothing occurs to me to say to you. For at one time reports of Lepidus are satisfactory, at another the reverse. However, of you the report is unvarying—that you can be neither hoodwinked nor beaten. The credit for the latter is to a certain extent fortune's, for the former it wholly belongs to your own good sense. But I have received a letter from your colleague¹ dated the 15th of May, in which he said that you had written to tell him that Antony was not being received by Lepidus. I shall feel more certain of this if you give me the same information in a letter, but perhaps you do not venture to do so owing to the ill-grounded cheerfulness of your former letter. But as it was possible for you, my dear Plancus, to make a mistake—for who escapes doing so?—so no one can fail to see that it was impossible that you should be taken in. Now, however, even the plea of being mistaken has been taken away—"Twice on the same stone,"² you know, is a fault reprov'd by a common proverb. But if the truth is as you have written to your colleague, we are freed from all anxiety; yet we shall not be so until you inform us that it is the case. My opinion indeed, as I have

¹ Decimus Brutus, who with Plancus was consul-designate for B.C. 42.

² To strike the foot twice on the same stone, *δις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὸν εἰσπρούειν λίθον*, *bis ad eundem offendere lapidem turpe est*. Something like our "A burnt child fears the fire," or "Once bit twice shy."

often told you in my letters, is that the man who extinguishes the last embers of this part of the war will be the real victor in the whole war, and I both hope and believe that you will be the man. I am not at all surprised and am deeply gratified that my zeal on your behalf, which certainly could not have been surpassed, has been as pleasant to your feelings as I thought it would be. You will find it indeed to be greater and more effective still, if things go well with you there.

29 May.

DCCCLXXXI (F X, 35)

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS TO THE MAGISTRATES AND SENATE

PONS ARGENTEUS, 30 MAY

M. LEPIDUS, second time imperator, Pontifex Maximus, greets the prætors, tribunes, the senate, populace, and plebs of Rome.¹

If you and your children are well, I am glad. I and my army are well. I call gods and men to witness, fathers of the senate, what my feelings and sentiments have ever been towards the Republic, and how I have thought nothing of more importance than the common safety and liberty. And this I should shortly have demonstrated to you, had not fortune snatched from me the power of following my own policy. For my whole army broke out into a mutiny, by way of retaining its traditional principle of preserving fellow citizens and the general peace, and—to confess the truth—compelled me to undertake to defend the lives and civil rights of so large a number of Roman citizens. And in regard to this matter, I beg and beseech you, fathers of the senate, to forget private quarrels and to consult for the highest interests of the Republic, and not to regard the

¹ This was written on the day after Lepidus consummated his treason by joining Antony. For the titles of Lepidus, see p. 265.

compassionate feelings of myself and my army in the light of a crime. But if you take the lives and political position of all into consideration, you will consult better for yourselves and the Republic.

30 May, from Pons Argenteus.

DCCCLXXXII (F XI, 14)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT EPOREDIA)

ROME (MAY, LATE)

I AM wonderfully pleased, my dear Brutus, that you approve of my policy and sentiments about the decemvirs, and about complimenting the young man. But what does it matter? Believe me—a man not given to brag—I am now, Brutus, quite in the cold shade. For my weapon was the senate: that has now gone to pieces. Your splendid breaking out from Mutina, and the flight of Antony after his army had been cut to pieces, had given us such a bright hope of certain victory, that the spirits of all have begun to flag, and those old fiery contests of mine seem to be, as it were, a mere fighting with shadows. But to return to business. People who know them say that the Martia and the fourth legion cannot by any persuasion whatever be brought over to you.¹ As to the money you want, some means can be taken for that, and shall be taken. About summoning Marcus Brutus and keeping Cæsar to protect Italy, I agree with you. But, as you say, you have some detractors. I have no difficulty in rebutting them, yet they do hamper one. We are expecting the legions from Africa.² But people are surprised at the war in your parts being renewed. Nothing was ever more unexpected. For when the victory was

¹ This of course proved true. They kept with Octavian, and refused to have anything to do with an assassin of Cæsar. See pp. 264, 267.

² To be sent by Cornificius. They arrived on the same day as Octavian reached Rome (App. B. C. iii. 91).

announced on your birthday,¹ we saw the Republic freed for many generations. These new alarms undo all that has gone before. Now you said in your letter to me of the 15th of May that you had lately heard from Plancus that Antony was not being received by Lepidus.² If that is so, everything will be easier. If otherwise, there is a serious business on hand, the result of which I do not dread. It is your part of the play. I cannot do more than I have done. You, however, I desire—as I also hope—to see become the greatest and most illustrious man in the world.

DCCCLXXXIII (BRUT. I, 8)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (MAY-JUNE)

I SHALL recommend many to you, and it is inevitable that I should do so—for it is always the best men and best citizens that are most inclined to follow your judgment; and it is for your approval that all brave men desire to work and study with activity; and finally everyone thinks that my influence and favour have very great weight with you. But I recommend to you Gaius Nasidienus—a burgher of Suessa—with an earnestness beyond which I cannot go about anyone. In the war in Crete under Metellus³ he led the eighth “first line”:⁴ afterwards he was employed in the management of his property. At this period, influenced by the party divisions in the state, and by your pre-eminent position, he wishes to gain some distinction by your means. I am recommending to you, Brutus, a man of courage, a man of good character, and—

¹ 26th April.² This letter is lost, but see p. 258.³ Q. Metellus Creticus conquered the Cretans in B.C. 68-66.⁴ That is, he was the centurion of the first *ordo* in the eighth cohort of a legion: there were ten cohorts in a legion, and each cohort had six *ordines* with a centurion to each.

if that is at all to the point—of wealth also.¹ I shall be very much obliged if you treat him so as to enable him to thank me for favours received from you.

DCCCLXXXIV (F XI, 16)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT EPOREDIA)

ROME (MAY-JUNE)

IT is of very great importance at what time you receive this letter—whether when you are suffering any anxiety or when you are free from all distress. Accordingly, I have instructed the bearer to be careful as to the time of its delivery. For just as in personal intercourse those who visit us at an inconvenient time are often troublesome, so do letters cause annoyance if delivered unseasonably. If, however, as I hope, nothing is vexing or hampering you, and if the messenger charged with it selects the time of approaching you with tact and discretion, I feel confident that I shall have no difficulty in obtaining from you what I desire. Lucius Lamia² is a candidate for the prætorship. I am particularly intimate with him. There is a friendship of very old standing and very close between us, and what is of the greatest weight of all is that he is supremely delightful in a social point of view. Besides that, I am under great obligations to him for kindness and good offices. For in the Clodian period, being at the head of the equestrian order and fighting with the greatest gallantry in defence of my safety, he was banished³ from Rome by the consul

¹ See vol. iii., p. 64. Mr. Tyrrell sees in this a reflexion on the disinterestedness of Brutus. No doubt money was sorely needed (see p. 224), and rich men were welcome at the camp.

² L. Ælius Lamia (see vol. iii., p. 326). He was ædile in B.C. 45.

³ *Relegatus*, i.e., forbidden to come to Rome, but not deprived of civil rights or property. Gabinius was consul in B.C. 58, the year of Cicero's exile. If Cicero calls him *princeps ordinis equestris* with definite exactness and not as a sort of general compliment, he means that he was the first *decurio* of the first *turma* of the equites. But it is

Gabinus, a thing that had never before that time happened to any Roman citizen at Rome.¹ When the Roman people remembers this, it is most discreditable that I should forget it. Therefore, my dear Brutus, persuade yourself that I am a candidate for the prætorship: for though Lamia is in a brilliant position and extremely popular, and conducted his ædileship with most magnificent liberality, yet I have taken up his cause as if these things were not so. In these circumstances, if you value me as highly as I feel sure you do, since you control certain centuries of the equites, among whom you are all-powerful, send word to our friend Lupus to secure the votes of those centuries for us. Though there is nothing that I do not expect from you, Brutus, yet there is nothing in which you can more oblige me than this.

DCCCLXXXV (F XI, 17)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT EPOREDIA)

ROME (MAY-JUNE)

THERE is no one with whom I am more intimate than Lucius Lamia. His—I won't call them attentions, but good services, to me are great, and are most thoroughly well known to the Roman people. After administering the ædileship with most splendid liberality, he is now a candidate for the prætorship, and everybody is aware that he is not deficient either in position or popularity. But there is

very doubtful whether this military organization of the equites existed at this time in reality. It was elaborated by Augustus some years later.

¹ It seems true that *relegatio*, or, as it was called in its mildest form, *relegatio in agros*, does not occur in republican times, at any rate by an edict of a magistrate in the case of a citizen, though *peregrini* could be, and on several occasions were, ordered to leave Rome. But it was common under the empire. See p. 195; Suet. *Aug.* 16, 24; Ovid. *Tr.* ii. 135:

*Quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo,
Privaque fortunæ sunt data verba meæ.*

The edict of Gabinus would only hold good during his year of office.

such an energetic canvass going on that I am thoroughly alarmed about the whole business, and think myself bound to back up Lamia. How much help you can give me in that affair I have no difficulty in seeing, nor indeed have I any doubt of how much you are willing to do for my sake. Pray therefore, my dear Brutus, convince yourself that I can make no request of you with greater earnestness, and that you cannot oblige me more than by assisting Lamia in his canvass with all your influence and all your zeal. I warmly beg you to do so.¹

DCCCLXXXVI (F X, 33)

C. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CORDUBA (MAY-JUNE)

IF you are well, I am glad. I am also well. Lepidus caused me to be later than I should have been in receiving intelligence of the battles fought near Mutina, for he detained my letter-carriers for nine days. However, it is almost a thing to be desired, that one should be as late as possible in hearing of such a calamity to the Republic, especially for those who can do no good or offer any cure for it. And oh! that by the same decree by which you summoned Plancus and Lepidus into Italy, you had also ordered me to come! Assuredly the Republic would not have sustained this blow. At which, if certain persons rejoice for the moment, because both officers and veterans of Cæsar's party appear to have perished, it is yet inevitable that they will presently have cause to mourn, when they contemplate the havoc of Italy. For the flower and main stock of our soldiers have been destroyed, if at least the news reaching me is in any degree true. Nor do I fail to perceive of how

¹ That Cicero should have written these two notes on the same subject and with some identical phrases is probably to be explained by the employment of two different bearers. He was very likely uncertain where Brutus was, and which of the two would reach him.

much service to the Republic I was likely to have been, had I come to Lepidus: for I should have dispelled all his hesitation, especially with the aid of Plancus. But it was clearly necessary for me to smooth down a man who writes me the sort of letter which I inclose for your perusal, exactly in the same tone as the harangues which he is said to have delivered at Narbo,¹ if I wished to have any provisions during a march through his province. Besides I was afraid, if the battle took place before I had accomplished my purpose, that my detractors would put an exactly opposite interpretation on my patriotic design on account of my friendship with Antony, which after all was not greater than that with Plancus. Therefore in April having embarked two letter-carriers on two separate ships at Gades, I wrote to you and the consuls and Octavian, requesting to be informed how I could do the best service to the Republic. But, as I calculate the time, the ships started from Gades on the very day on which Pansa fought his battle:² for that was the first day since the winter that navigation was possible. And by heaven, being far from any suspicion of the coming civil outbreak,³ I had put the legions into winter quarters in remote parts of Lusitania. Moreover, both sides were in such a hurry to fight, as though they were afraid of the war being settled without the greatest possible damage to the Republic. However, if such haste was necessary, I perceive that the strategy of Hirtius was in all respects that of a consummate general. At present I have the following news from Lepidus's district of Gaul⁴ by letter and messengers: that Pansa's army has been cut to pieces; that Pansa has died of his wounds: that in the same battle the Martian legion was annihilated, and L. Tabatus, Gaius Peducæus, and Decimus Carfulenus killed: that in the battle fought by

¹ See p. 240.

² April 15th, at Forum Gallorum. See p. 182.

³ He uses the constitutional word *tumultus*, which was properly applied to civil war within the borders of Italy as opposed to *bellum*, a foreign war: though the latter is frequently used of it by Cicero and others, partly because the distinction is not observed in ordinary language, and partly *ad invidiam*, Antony having been declared a *hostis*. Pollio's having no suspicion of what was coming is a little too innocent. He was, in fact, at heart a Cæsarian, and an opponent of Cicero.

⁴ Lepidus was governor of Northern Spain and Gallia Narbonensis.

Hirtius¹ both the fourth legion and all Antony's alike were cut to pieces, as well as those of Hirtius; that the fourth, indeed, after also capturing Antony's camp were annihilated by the fifth: that there Hirtius also and Pontius Aquila perished: that Octavian also is said to have fallen—for this if true, which God forbid!² I am exceedingly grieved: that Antony has abandoned the siege of Mutina with disgrace, but has 5,000 cavalry, three legions fully armed and organized,³ and one commanded by Publius Bagiennus:⁴ that Ventidius also with the seventh, eighth, and ninth legions has effected a junction with him: and that if Antony finds nothing to hope for from Lepidus, he will have recourse to extreme measures, and raise not only the native tribes, but also the slaves: that Parma has been sacked:⁵ that L. Antonius has occupied the pass of the Alps.

Now if these things are true, not one of us ought to be idle or wait for a decree from the senate. For the situation forces all to aid in quenching such a dreadful conflagration, who wish the Empire, or in fact the very name, of the Roman people, to survive. For I hear that Decimus Brutus has only seventeen cohorts, and two weak legions of recruits, which Antony had enrolled. However, I have no doubt the survivors of Hirtius's army are all flocking to him. For I don't think there is much hope in a levy, especially as nothing can be more risky than that Antony should have time given him for concentration. The season of the year too gives me more freedom of action, because the corn is by this

¹ He seems to confuse the afternoon battle at Forum Gallorum by Hirtius, after Pansa's repulse, with the battle fought in the assault on Antony's camp near Mutina, a week after that at Forum Gallorum (April 15th-21st).

² Perhaps this parenthesis was inserted when the letters were edited. The mixture of truth and inaccuracy in the war news reaching Pollio will seem very natural to us in these days (1899-1900).

³ Lit. "under standards," *i.e.*, when the several cohorts and maniples were still under their proper standards, and the men not crowded together indiscriminately, as would be the case in a beaten and disorganized legion.

⁴ This name is very uncertain. The MSS. have *pupilli Bagienni*. It seems likely that a legion raised among the Bagienni living near the source of the Po is meant. "Publius the Bagiennian" may be the commander of it—a Romanized native.

⁵ See p. 222.

time in the fields¹ or in the farmhouses. Therefore in my next letter my plans shall be explained: for I do not wish to fail in duty to or to survive the Republic. However, what vexes me most is the length and dangerous nature of the journey to my quarters, the result of which is that no news reaches me till the fortieth day after the event, or even later.

DCCCLXXXVII (F XI, 26)

DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

IN CAMP (NEAR CULARO), 3 JUNE

IN the midst of excessive sorrow I find consolation in the fact that the world now knows that it was not without cause that I feared what has actually occurred. Let them consider whether to bring the legions from Africa or not, and also from Sardinia; and whether to summon Marcus Brutus or not; and whether to give or decree me pay for my soldiers. I am sending a despatch to the senate. Believe me that unless all these measures are taken as described in my despatch, we shall be in the greatest danger. I beseech you to see to whom to intrust the business of bringing the legions to me. What is necessary is loyalty and speed.²

3 June, from camp.

¹ That is, cut and stacked in the fields, and therefore he can get plenty without trouble.

² We do not possess the public despatch referred to, or any more letters from Decimus Brutus. He evidently knew when he wrote this despairing note that Lepidus had joined Antony—as he did on the 29th of May—and that his chance was over. He did, however, effect a junction with Plancus at Cularo (Grenoble) about the 27th of June, and the two kept open the Alpine pass and communication between Eporodia (*Ivrea*) and Grenoble for some weeks. But in August or early in September—while Octavian, after entering Rome and securing the consulship, had caused Decimus with the other assassins to be condemned under the *lex Pedia*—Pollio arrived with his legions, joined Lepidus and Antony, and persuaded Plancus to do the same. The frantic attempts of Decimus to march across Italy to Ravenna or Aquileia and take ship

DCCCLXXXVIII (F XI, 21)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT EPOREDIA)

ROME, 4 JUNE

THE gods confound your friend Segulius,¹ the greatest scoundrel that exists, or has existed, or ever will exist! What? Do you mean that he only told you, or that he told Cæsar? Why, he never let anyone go, with whom he could get in a word, without telling that same story! Nevertheless, I am as much obliged to you, my dear Brutus, as I ought to be for wishing me to know that piece of folly, whatever it amounted to. For you gave a great proof of your affection thereby. As to what this same Segulius says of you and Cæsar not being among the commission of ten,² would to heaven I were not either! For what could be a greater bore? However, when I expressed an opinion that a motion should be made about those who were in command of armies, the usual lot in the senate shouted "No!" Accordingly, you were all left out in spite of my vehement opposition. Therefore let us pay no regard to Segulius, who is always on the look-out for revolutionary *bonnes fortunes*—not that he has devoured his own, for he never had any, but he has made a hearty meal on this last tit-bit. Again, you say that what you would not do for yourself, you do for me—

to join M. Brutus in Macedonia, the desertion of his army, his being headed off by Octavian from Aquileia, his flight to the Rhine, and his death by the hands of a Sequanian Gaul, at the command of Antony, followed in September-October. He was the third of the assassins to die a violent death, Trebonius and Aquila having already fallen. He had perhaps less excuse than any for taking part in the crime and blunder of the Ides of March. Cicero exalts his character in grandiloquent terms, and Cæsar trusted and employed him constantly; yet he seems to have been a man of little political ability.

¹ Who betrayed the *laudandum, ornandum, tollendum* epigram. See p. 266.

² Appointed to review the *acta* of Antony (see pp. 266, 282, 310; App. B. C. iii. 82). The veterans feared for their interests, lest the grants of lands should be revoked.

namely, be somewhat alarmed. Best and dearest of men, I free you from all fear for me! For I shall not be caught napping in any affairs that admit of being foreseen. In regard to those which will admit of no precautions I do not much trouble myself. For I should be shameless if I asked more than a human being can have bestowed on him by nature. When you bid me take care lest by a timid line of policy I may be compelled to fear still more, you speak like the wise man and affectionate friend that you are. But pray believe that, as everyone knows you to be eminent in this particular excellence—never, that is, to be frightened, never to lose your head—so I come near this high quality of yours. Wherefore I will fear nothing and be on my guard about everything. But be careful, my dear Brutus, that it is not your fault if I am afraid of anything. For, encouraged by your resources and your consulship, even if we had been timid by nature, we should yet have shaken off all fear, especially as everyone would have been convinced, and I above all, that we were regarded by you with unique affection. I warmly approve of your policy about the four legions, and about the assignation of lands by both of you.¹ Accordingly, when some of my colleagues were nibbling at the land business, I upset the whole affair and caused it to be reserved entirely for your decision. If there is anything to say more than usually secret, and, as you express it, more “confidential,” I will send some one by whom the letter may be conveyed with greater fidelity.

4 June.

DCCCLXXXIX (F XI, 24)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT EPOREDIA)

ROME, 6 JUNE

I TELL you what: I used to be somewhat irritated at the brevity of your letters. Now I think myself over-talkative.

¹ Decimus Brutus and Octavian. See p. 266.

I will therefore imitate you. What a volume in a few words—that you are quite well and will take measures to be daily better;¹ that Lepidus is well-disposed, and that we ought to have confidence in their armies! If I had been nervous, that letter would still have wiped away all fear from my heart. But, as you advise, I have taken the bit between my teeth: for when I rested every hope on you, in spite of your being closely invested, what do you think that I do now? I desire now, Brutus, to make over to you my sleepless watchfulness, though without diminishing my own firm policy. You say that, if the enemy permits it, you will stay in Italy till you get a letter from me. You are not wrong: for much happens at Rome: but if the war can be finished by your arrival on the scene, let that be your first care. The money that was most readily available has been decreed to you. You have a very warm friend in Servius:² I never fail to support you.

6 June.

DCCCXC (F X, 23)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CULARO,³ 6 JUNE

NEVER, by heaven! my dear Cicero, shall I repent of encountering the greatest dangers for my country, provided that, if anything happen to me, I escape the reproach of rashness. I confess that I should have made a slip from imprudence, if I had ever believed at the bottom of my heart in Lepidus. For credulity is an error rather than a crime, and indeed the honester the man the more easily does it find its way into his mind. But it was not by this defect that I was all but taken in: for I knew Lepidus thoroughly. What was it, then? It was over-scrupulousness—the most dangerous thing in war—that compelled me to incur this risk. For, if I had stopped there, I was afraid of being thought by

¹ See p. 268.

² Servius Sulpicius Galba. See p. 260.

³ Grenoble, where Plancus was presently joined by Decimus Brutus.

some of my detractors both to have been too obstinate in my quarrel with Lentulus, and to be actually fostering the war by my waiting policy. Accordingly, I brought up my forces almost to within sight of Lepidus and Antony, and leaving a space between us of forty miles I took up a position with the design of being able either to approach them with speed or to retire in safety. In selecting my ground I secured two advantages, a river in my front, which would delay an enemy in crossing it, and the Vocontii close at hand, through whose territory my road would be kept open without fear of treachery. Lepidus, having given up hope of my arrival, which he was very anxious to secure, effected a junction with Antony on the 29th of May, and on the same day they advanced against me. When they were twenty miles off I got news of this. By the blessing of heaven I managed to retire with speed without this movement having any appearance of a flight: without a single soldier or horseman or particle of baggage being lost or being intercepted by those hot-headed outlaws. Accordingly, on the 4th of June I got my whole force across the Isara and broke the bridge which I had constructed, that my men might have time to pull themselves together, and that I might meanwhile effect a junction with my colleague, whom I am expecting in three days from the date of this letter. I will always acknowledge the fidelity and eminent loyalty to the Republic of my friend Laterensis. But certainly his excessive consideration for Lepidus made him somewhat less acute in his view of these dangers. It is true that when he saw that he had been duped, he tried to lay the hands upon himself which he would have done better to have armed against Lepidus. In this attempt, however, he was interrupted, and is still alive, and is said to be likely to live: but of this after all I have no certain information. It was a great chagrin to those parricides that I escaped from their clutches: for they were coming inspired by the same madness against me as against their country. Their temper also had been embittered by recent events—because I had not ceased lashing Lepidus, urging him to put an end to the war; because I rejected the idea of conferences; because I had forbidden legates sent to me under the guarantee of Lepidus to come into my presence; because I had captured Gaius Catus Vestinus, a military tribune, sent by Antony to him

with a despatch, and had treated him as an enemy.¹ And in all this I have at least this satisfaction, that at any rate the more eager they were to get me the more annoyance has their failure caused them. It is your part, my dear Cicero, to continue as before using all your vigilance and energy in reinforcing us who are at the actual seat of war. Let Cæsar come with the best troops he has, or, if any circumstance prevents him from coming himself, let his army be sent.² For it is a question of considerable peril for himself. All the ruffian element that was at any time likely to join the camp against their country has now combined. In defence, then, of the city's bare existence, why should we not employ all the resources at our disposal? But if you at Rome don't fail me, certainly, as far as I am concerned, I shall in all respects do my whole duty and something more to the Republic. For you, my dear Cicero, I love you more every day of my life, and every day your services sharpen my anxiety not to forfeit any of your affection or good opinion. I pray that I may be permitted by a personal display of my devotion and duty to make your kindnesses a subject of greater gratification to yourself.

6 June, Cularo, in the country of the Allobroges.

DCCCXCI (F X, 32)

C. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CORDUBA, 8 JUNE

My quæstor Balbus³ having amassed from the public taxes a large sum of ready money, a great amount of bullion, and a still greater amount of silver, has withdrawn from

¹ He may mean that he kept him as a prisoner of war, but I fear the phrase in Cæsar usually means "put to the sword" (*in numero hostis habere*).

² Plancus has evidently no idea, or poses as having no idea, of the real relation between the senate and Octavian.

³ Balbus the younger, nephew of Cicero's client. He had been a warm Cæsarian. See vol. ii., p. 201.

Gades without even paying the soldiers, and after being detained three days off Calpe by bad weather, on the 1st of June crossed into the kingdom of Bogudes,¹ with a very pretty bit of money in his pocket. With the rumours now going about I don't yet know whether he intends to return to Gades or to go to Rome—for at every fresh piece of news he changes his plans in the most contemptible manner. But besides his peculations and violent robberies and flogging of allies, he has done the following—as he is himself accustomed to boast—in imitation of Cæsar. At the games which he gave at Gades, on the last day of the show, he presented the actor Herennius Gallus with a gold ring and formally conducted him to a seat in the fourteen rows²—for he had arranged that number of rows for men of equestrian rank. He also caused his office as one of the *quattuorviri*³ to be continued beyond the year: he held elections for two years in two following days, that is, he declared whom he chose elected: he recalled exiles, not those of recent times, but of that period in which the senate was massacred or expelled by rebels in the proconsulship of Sextus Varus.⁴ The next thing, at any rate, is not covered by a precedent of Cæsar's: he put on the stage a "Roman drama" representing his own expedition to solicit the proconsul Lucius Lentulus, and, what is more, whilst it was being acted he burst into tears, affected by the memory of his own adventures.⁵ At the

¹ Mauretania Tingitana (Tangiers). Bogudes or Bogud was a supporter of the Cæsarians.

² That is, he made him an eque. Fourteen rows in the theatres, even in the provinces, were reserved for equites, in accordance with the *lex Roscia*. The gold ring had been the special mark of equites since some period before the Punic wars. Once it had been confined to senators going abroad on missions, and under the empire it was used by all *ingenui*. The reference to the action of Iulius Cæsar is to his treatment of Decimus Laberius (see Suet. *Iul.* 39), who played his own mime: *donatusque L. sestertiis et anulo aureo in quattuordecim e scena per orchestram transiit*. But Suetonius infers that Laberius was an eque already.

³ The magistrates of Gades, as a *municipium*, were *quattuorviri*. The Balbi were natives of Gades, and he no doubt, being in Spain, had as a favour to his town accepted the office, though he was a Roman quæstor. See the case of Cicero's son at Arpinum, vol. iii., p. 63.

⁴ B.C. 56. Sextus Quintilius Varus was prætor in B.C. 57.

⁵ The story is told by Velleius Paterculus (ii. 51) how Balbus, "with a

gladiatorial contests, moreover, there was the case of the old Pompeian soldier named Fadius. Because this man, having been pressed into the gladiatorial school, and having fought twice without pay, refused to bind himself as a professional gladiator, and threw himself on the protection of the people, he first of all sent a squadron of Gallic horse to charge the people—for stones were thrown at him as Fadius was being dragged off—and then, having seized him, he half buried him in the school and burnt him alive. While this was being done he walked about after dinner without his boots,¹ with tunic ungirdled, and his hands behind his back, and in answer to the unhappy man crying out “I am a born Roman citizen,” he replied: “Off with you then, and appeal to the people!”² He also exposed Roman citizens to the beasts, among them a certain travelling pedlar—a very well-known character at Hispalis from his misshapen body. This is the kind of monster with whom I have had to deal. But more about him when we meet. For the present the important thing is to make up your minds what you want me to do. I have three strong legions, one of which—the twenty-eighth—Antonius tried to get to join him by promising that on the day it arrived in camp he would give each soldier 500 denarii,³ and the same bounty in case of victory as to his own legions. And of such bounties who thinks that there will be any limit or end?—Nevertheless I have managed to retain it though in a most restless state: nor should I have retained it, if I had kept it united and stationary, for certain cohorts have actually mutinied. My other legions also he has not ceased to solicit by letters and unlimited promises. Nor, indeed, has Lepidus been less urgent with me—in letters of his own and from Antony—to send them the

daring almost passing belief,” made his way into Pompey’s camp at Dyrrachium, and tried to persuade Lentulus (consul B.C. 49) to desert to Cæsar.

¹ The *calcei* were taken off before dinner in the house and slippers put on—called *soleæ* or *gallicæ* (see 2 *Phil.* § 76). So the story of Cæsar’s emotion at hearing of Octavius’s illness. He was at dinner, and springing up went to the house *ἀνυπόδητος*, i.e., *nudis pedibus*, with his dinner-slippers on.

² The brutality is pointed by the wretched man being half-buried and unable to stir.

³ About £20.

thirtieth legion. So the army which I have refused to part with at any price, or to weaken from fear of the dangers portended in case they were victorious, you ought to consider to have been retained and preserved for the Republic, and to believe that I was prepared to obey any future commands of yours, since I have obeyed those which you have given. For I have kept my province in peace and my army under my own control: I have not quitted the borders of my province in any direction: I have not despatched a single soldier anywhere—not only of the legions, but even of the auxiliaries; and such of the cavalry as I have detected in trying to get out of the country I have punished. For these acts I shall think myself sufficiently rewarded if the Republic is safe. But if the Republic and the majority of the senate had known me as well as they ought, they would have got greater advantages out of me. A despatch which I have addressed to Balbus, since he is at this moment in the province, I am sending for your perusal. Also if you will care to read a "Roman drama,"¹ ask my friend Cornelius Gallus² for it.

Corduba, 8 June.

DCCCXCII (BRUT. I, 10)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (JUNE)

I HAVE no letter as yet from you—not so much as a rumour—to shew that you are aware of the resolution of the senate and are bringing your army into Italy. That you should do so, and with all speed, the Republic urgently requires: for

¹ *Prætexta*, sc. *fabula*, as above. A drama on Roman subjects as opposed to the *palliata*, a play from the Greek. We know from Horace (*Od.* ii. 1) that Pollio, among other literary accomplishments, was a dramatic writer.

² The poet (B.C. 66-26), the friend of Augustus, first governor of Egypt, who killed himself when he fell into disfavour. His elegiac poems—which Ovid thought the best existing in his time (*Tr.* iv. 10, 5)—have perished.

the internal mischief daily grows more serious, and we are in difficulties from enemies at home no less than from those abroad. The former have, it is true, always existed from the beginning of the war, but they were then more easily crushed. The senate was then in a more resolute frame of mind, roused to action not only by the motions which I brought forward, but also by my earnest exhortations. Pansa was then in the senate very strenuous and bold in his attacks upon all men of that sort, and especially his father-in-law.¹ As consul his courage never failed him from the beginning, nor his loyalty at the end. The conduct of the war at Mutina left nothing to complain of in Cæsar, though some few points in Hirtius. The fortune of this war is

“For happy though but ill, for ill not worst.”²

The Republic was victorious: Antony's forces were cut to pieces, and he himself driven out of the country. Then came so many mistakes on the part of Decimus Brutus, that in a certain sense the victory slipped through our fingers.³ Our generals did not pursue the demoralized, unarmed, wounded enemy, and time was granted to Lepidus to give us a taste of that fickleness, which we had had many occasions to know before, in a more disastrous field. The armies of Brutus and Plancus are good but raw; their auxiliary forces of Gauls are very numerous and very loyal. But certain persons by most unprincipled letters and misleading agents and messages induced Cæsar—up to that time wholly governed by my advice, and personally possessed of brilliant ability and admirable firmness of character—to entertain

¹ Fufius Calenus, who desired terms made with Antony (8 *Phil.* § 11).

² Twice quoted before. See vol. i., p. 189.

³ Very different from the language which Cicero employs to Decimus himself. The fact is that Decimus could not possibly pursue Antony effectively. His garrison had suffered greatly from want of food in Mutina, and from natural excess after the siege was raised. He had no transport. Octavius refused absolutely to assist him, or to have anything to do with him. And the fourth and Martian legions stuck to Octavius, as did most of the veterans with Hirtius and Pansa. Antony had two days' start at least, and was not—as Cicero fondly imagined—leading away a demoralized army. His cavalry was intact, and the splendid march by Acqui to Vado, and then by the Riviera to Fréjus, shews that the rest of his forces was in no desperate case.

a very confident hope of the consulship. As soon as I discovered that, I never ceased offering him advice by letter in his absence, and remonstrating with his connexions who were in town, and who seemed to be supporting his ambition; nor in the senate did I hesitate to lay bare the sources of a most criminal plot. Nor indeed do I remember a better disposition on the part of senate or magistrates. For in the case of voting an extra-constitutional office to a man of power, or rather of super-eminent power—since power now depends on force and arms—it never yet happened that no tribune, no one in any other office, no private senator was found to support it. But in spite of this firmness and manly spirit, the city was after all in a state of anxiety. For we are flouted, Brutus, both by the airs assumed by the soldiers and the arrogance of their commander. Each man claims to be powerful in the Republic in proportion to his physical force. Reason, moderation, law, custom, duty—all go for nothing: as do the judgment and opinion of their fellow citizens, and their respect for the verdict of posterity. It was because I foresaw all this long ago that I was on the point of flying from Italy at the time when the report of the edicts issued by you and Cassius recalled me. You also roused my spirits, Brutus, at Velia. For though it vexed me to be going to a city from which you who freed it were an exile—which had also happened to me formerly in a similar danger, though with more melancholy result—yet I continued my journey and reached Rome, and without any guard to protect me I shook the power of Antony, and encouraged by my influence and advice the protecting force offered by Cæsar against his treasonable arms. And if Cæsar keeps his word and follows my counsel, I think we shall have protection enough. But if the counsels of the disloyal have greater weight than mine, or if the weakness of his time of life proves unequal to the strain of the business, our whole hope is in you. Wherefore fly hither, I beseech you, and put the last touch to the freedom of a state, which you liberated by courage and high spirit rather than by any fortunate coincidence. Men of all sorts will crowd round you. Write and urge Cassius to do the same. Hope of liberty is nowhere to be found except in the headquarters of your two camps. We have, it is true,

generals and armies in the west on which we can rely. The protecting force of the young Cæsar, for instance, I regard at present as trustworthy: but so many are trying to shake his loyalty that at times I am mortally afraid of his giving way.

That is a complete view of the political situation, as it exists at the moment at which I write. I could wish that it might improve as we go on: but if otherwise—which God forbid! I shall grieve for the sake of the Republic, which ought to have been immortal: but for myself—what a brief span of life is left!

DCCCXCIII (F XII, 8)

TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS (IN SYRIA)

ROME (JUNE)

THE crime of your relative Lepidus¹ and the extreme fickleness and levity of his conduct² I think that you will have learnt from the gazette³ of the senate, which I am assured is sent to you. Accordingly, after once finishing the war we have a renewed war upon our hands, and our whole hope is in Decimus Brutus and Plancus. If you would have the real truth, it is in you and our friend M. Brutus, not only for immediate safety, if, what I trust may not be the case, any reverse occurs, but also for securing a permanent liberty. We at Rome have gratifying intelligence about Dolabella, but it does not rest on good authority. Let me assure you that you are the hero of the hour, both from present impressions and future expectations. With this knowledge

¹ Lepidus and Cassius were married to the two half-sisters of Brutus, Iunia and Tertia.

² Lepidus joined Antony on the 29th of May. This would be known at Rome in about ten days, which will roughly date this letter at about June 8th-10th.

³ The *acta* of the senate, which would contain the proceedings by which Lepidus was declared a *hostis*, and Octavian was commissioned to make war on both him and Antony (Dio, 42, 46). For the *acta*, see Appendix to vol. ii.

before your eyes, be sure that you aim at the highest achievement. There is nothing which the Roman people does not think can be accomplished and sustained by you.

DCCCXCIV (F XII, 30)

TO Q. CORNIFICIUS (IN AFRICA)

ROME (JUNE)

Is it really so? Does no one bring a letter from me to you except suitors? There are a good many of that sort certainly: for you have created the impression that no one is effectively recommended to you without a letter from me.¹ But who among all your friends ever told me of anyone to whom I could intrust a letter without my doing so? Or what greater pleasure have I than writing to you or reading a letter from you, since I am debarred from talking to you? What troubles me more than anything is that I am so overwhelmed with business as not to have the power of writing to you whenever I choose. For I should have bombarded you, not with mere letters, but with whole volumes, with which, however, I ought to have been first challenged by you to respond. For though you are busy, yet you have more leisure than I have, or, if you haven't any leisure either, don't cast modesty to the winds and vex me by demanding more frequent letters, when you only write to me yourself at long intervals. For though I was before this distracted with the most constant engagements, arising from the fact that I consider the safety of the state to require my every thought and care, yet at this present moment I am much more distracted than ever. For as an illness is more serious when after imagining themselves cured invalids suffer a relapse, so is our distress more acute when, after fighting a successful battle and almost putting an end to the contest, we are struggling with a recrudescence of the same war. But enough of this. Assure

¹ See the recommendatory letters to Cornificius, pp. 194-196.

yourself, my dear Cornificius, that I am not so feeble-minded, not to say unfeeling, as to be capable of being surpassed by you in good offices or affection. I never doubted it indeed, but Chærippus has all the same made your affection to me much more evident. What an excellent fellow! He always suited my taste, but now I find him quite delightful. It was not merely your sentiments and words that he conveyed to me: he brought vividly before me your every look. So don't be afraid of my having been annoyed with you for treating me as you do the rest of the world. I have indeed desired a letter from you addressed exclusively to myself, but it was never unreasonably, and always in an affectionate spirit. As to the money which you say you are spending and have spent on your army, I can do absolutely nothing to aid you, because the senate is made helpless by the loss of both consuls,¹ and the treasury is in incredible straits for money, which is being called in on every side to satisfy the promises made to the soldiers who have done such excellent public service. Even this I think cannot be done without a property tax.² That business of Attius Dionysius³ I think amounts to nothing, for Tratorius said nothing to me about it. As to Publius Luceius⁴ I don't in any way yield to you in zealous interest: for he is a close friend of mine. But when I asked the liquidators⁵ for a postponement, they satisfied me that they were prevented from granting it both by the agreement that had been come to and by their oath. Wherefore in my opinion Luceius must appear. However, if he has obeyed the letter I wrote to him, he ought to be at Rome by the time you read this. As to the other matters you mention,

¹ The consuls had the power of issuing money from the treasury, and even drawing on the reserve fund (vol. ii., p. 263). But in their absence the control of the ordinary treasury was in the hands of the senate. Perhaps Cicero means that the only money available was the reserve, with which the senate could not or would not deal without a consul.

² *Tributum*, which had never been levied in Italy since the conquest of Macedonia, B.C. 167. It was apparently levied in the course of this year, but the freedom from it remained the privilege of Italy for nearly three centuries afterwards. See 2 *Phil.* § 93; *de Off.* ii. § 76.

³ See p. 173. For Tratorius, see p. 139.

⁴ See p. 225.

⁵ For the official receivers and distributors of bankrupt properties (*magistri*), see vol. i., p. 14; vol. ii., p. 140.

and especially as to money, you wrote in ignorance of Pansa's death about certain grants which you thought that you might get from him through me. In which you would not have been disappointed had he been alive, for he was attached to you. But after his death I fail to see what can be done. As to Venuleius, Latinus, and Horatius, I much commend you. The next thing you say, however, I don't approve—that in order to soften the matter for them you have deprived your legates also of their lictors: for in outward marks of honour they ought not to be put on a level with men who deserve to be disgraced; and I think that those three men ought in virtue of the senate's decree, if they do not quit the province, to be compelled to do so. This is what I had to say in answer to the letter which I received in duplicate. For the rest, be assured that my own political position is not dearer to me than yours.

DCCCXCV (F XI, 13, §§ 4 AND 5)

[DECIMUS BRUTUS AND L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS
TO THE SENATE AND MAGISTRATES]

(CULARO, ABOUT 9 JUNE¹)

. . . they had hoped, because they neither thought that the four legions of Plancus were a match for their forces, nor believed that an army could be brought across the Alps from Italy with such speed. Yet the Allobroges themselves with the whole body of cavalry—sent forward by us with that express purpose—have been able to hold them in check up to now in a confident manner enough: and when we arrive we feel sure that they will be still more easily held up.

¹ Writing on the 6th of June, Plancus said that he expected to be joined by Decimus Brutus in three days (see p. 293). This fragment of a despatch appears in the MSS. at the end of Letter DCCCLXV, but cannot belong there, as it refers to a wholly different state of things. Its ascription to Decimus Brutus and Plancus is a conjecture, but an easy one. The date is less certain, that is, within a few days, more or less. It could not be earlier than the 9th, but might easily be ten days later.

Nevertheless, if they have by any chance crossed the Isara, we shall take the greatest care to prevent loss to the public service. We would have you be of high courage and entertain the best hopes of the public safety, since you see our armies united in complete sympathy and prepared for any and every service on your behalf. Nevertheless you must not relax in your earnest attention, and you must do your best to enable us in defence of your safety to confront, in the highest state of preparation both as to men and other necessities, the utterly abominable combination of our enemies, who have in fact suddenly converted the forces, which they had long been collecting under pretence of serving the state, to the purpose of endangering their country.

DCCCXCVI (F XII, 13)

CASSIUS PARMENSIS¹ TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CROMMYUACRIS IN CYPRUS, 13 JUNE

IF you are well, I am glad. I am well. I rejoice not only at the safety and victory of the Republic, but also at the revival of your glorious reputation. That as the noblest of consulars you have surpassed yourself as the noblest of consuls I am at once delighted and unable to wonder sufficiently. A certain special favour of destiny has been shewn to your virtue—of which we have often had practical proofs. For your toga has been more fortunate than everyone else's

¹ As to the identity of this man—one of the assassins—see my note on Sueton. *Aug.* 4. He is not mentioned before, but is referred to by Horace (*Ep.* i. 4, 3) as a writer of eminence, and the grammarians who annotated Horace say that he was an Epicurean and wrote satires, elegies and epigrams. He was executed by Augustus at Athens after the battle of Actium—the last of the assassins to perish. Two or three fragments of his poetry have been preserved: and Suetonius quotes part of a letter abusing Augustus. The elaborate and difficult style of this letter—the only one of his—indicates some pedantry and affectation, rather characteristic of the Roman Epicureans. He was perhaps quæstor or pro-quæstor in Syria now, though one commentator says he was a *tribunus militum* along with Horace.

arms; and has now once more rescued the Republic, when all but conquered, from the hands of its enemies, and restored it to us. So now we shall live free men: now we shall have you—greatest of all citizens and most beloved by me, as you discovered in the darkest hour of the public fortunes—now, I say, we shall have you as a witness to our love both to you and to the Republic, which is so closely bound up with you. And that which you often promised that you would suppress while we were slaves, and would say of me when likely to be to my service, now, I shall not so much desire to be said as to be felt by you. For I would not wish to be commended by you to the good opinion of others more than to have been commended to your own in a manner worthy of my deserts, that you may judge these recent acts of mine to have been no mere hasty impulses or departures from principle, but in harmony with those lines of thought of which you are a witness; and may think that I deserve to be brought forward prominently by yourself, as giving promise of doing excellent service to my country. You, Marcus Tullius, have children and relatives worthy of you and deservedly most beloved by you. Next to them those also ought to be dear to you in public life who emulate your special branch of learning, of whom I wish you a goodly store: yet after all I don't regard myself as excluded, however great the crowd. You will always have room to receive me, and to employ me in everything you wish and approve. Of the goodness of my disposition perhaps you have already been convinced: my ability, certainly, such as it is, our prolonged servitude has allowed to appear less than after all it really is.

From the sea-coast of the province of Asia and from the islands we have launched all the ships we could; we have levied rowers, with great opposition on the part of the cities, yet with fair rapidity; and we have pursued Dolabella's fleet, which is commanded by Lucius Figulus. This officer, by frequently holding out hopes of deserting to us, and yet keeping continually edging away, has by his most recent move got to Corycus,¹ and having closed the harbour, is beginning to offer resistance. Abandoning that fleet, because

¹ On the coast of Cilicia Trachea (*Korghoz*).

we thought it better to make our way to the camp, and because there was another fleet coming, which Tillius Cimber had collected in the previous year, and the quæstor Turullius was commanding, we made for Cyprus. The information I got there I am anxious to tell you as quickly as possible. It is this: Dolabella has been actually invited not only by the people of Tarsus, the worst of allies, but also by the Laodiceans, who are still more disaffected.¹ By the number of Greek soldiers which he has got from both these states, he has secured what looks like an army. He has a camp pitched outside the town of Laodicea, and has pulled down a part of the wall and united his camp with the town. Our friend Cassius with ten legions and twenty auxiliary cohorts, and cavalry 4,000 strong, has a camp pitched twenty miles away at Paltus, and thinks that he can win without a battle: for in Dolabella's quarters corn is already twelve drachmæ the medimnus. Unless he manages to get some brought in by the ships of Laodicea, he must soon perish of hunger. That he should not be able to get any in we can easily secure between us—that is, Cassius's fleet, which is a fairly large one under the command of Sextilius Rufus,² and the three which I, Turullius, and Patiscus³ have brought up. I would have you be hopeful, and feel sure that, as you at Rome have relieved the Republic from its difficulties, so on our part it can be quickly relieved by us. Good-bye.

13 June, Cyprus, off Crommyuacris.⁴

¹ That is, Tarsus and Laodicea were Cæsarian.

² Quæstor in Cyprus. See vol. iii., p. 367.

³ See p. 277.

⁴ Κρομμύου ἄκρα, the northern cape of Cyprus.

DCCCXCVII (BRUT. I, 9)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (8 JUNE)

I WOULD have performed the function, which you performed in my own time of mourning, and have written you a letter of consolation, had I not known that you did not stand in need of those remedies in your sorrow with which you relieved mine. And I should hope that you will now more easily heal your own wound than you then could mine.¹ It is, moreover, quite unlike a man as great as you are not to be able to do himself what he has enjoined on another. For myself, the arguments which you had collected, as well as your personal influence, deterred me from excessive indulgence in grief: for when I seemed to you to be bearing my sorrow with less firmness than was becoming to a man, and especially one accustomed to console others, you wrote upbraiding me in sharper terms than were usual with you. Accordingly, putting a high value on your opinion, and having a wholesome awe of it, I pulled myself together and regarded what I had learnt, read, and been taught as being the weightier by the addition of your authority. And at that time, Brutus, I owed nothing except to duty and nature: you now have to regard the people and the stage—to use a common expression. For since the eyes not only of your army, but of all the citizens, and I ought almost to say of all the world, are fixed on you, it is not at all seemly that the man who makes us all braver should himself seem weakened in mind. To sum up: you have met with a sorrow—for you

¹ See vol. iii., pp. 197, 201. Cicero there says that Brutus's letter gave him no consolation. This letter is to condole with Brutus on the death of his wife Porcia. The ordinary story—told by Plutarch and others—is that she committed suicide by swallowing burning charcoal after the death of Brutus. But there was another account that she died a natural death. Her illness is alluded to p. 252. If this letter is genuine the latter account must be the true one.

have lost a thing unparalleled in the world—and you must needs suffer from so severe a wound, lest the fact of having no sense of sorrow should be a greater misfortune than sorrow itself: but that you should do so in moderation is advantageous to others, necessary for yourself. I would have written at greater length, had not even this been already too much. We are expecting you and your army, without which—even if everything else succeeds to our wishes—we seem likely to be scarcely as free as we could desire. On the whole political situation I will write at greater length, and perhaps with more certainty, in the letter which I think of handing to our friend Vetus.¹

DCCCXCVIII (F XI, 25)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT CULARO?)

ROME, 10 JUNE

As I was waiting day after day for a letter from you, our friend Lupus suddenly gave me notice to write to you if I wanted to say anything. But I, though I had nothing to say—for I knew the gazette was being sent to you, and I was also told that the chatter of a letter with nothing in it was disagreeable to you—have aimed at brevity, following your teaching. Be it known to you then that our every hope rests on you and your colleague. As to M. Brutus we have as yet nothing certain: but I never stop calling on him in my confidential correspondence to come and take his share in the war in which we are all engaged. Would to heaven he were already here! We should have less reason to fear the danger within the city, which is really serious. But what am I doing? I am not imitating your laconic style; I am already beginning a second page of paper. Victory and health to you!

18 June.

¹ See pp. 205, 313.

DCCCXCIX (F XII, 9)

TO C. CASSIUS LONGINUS (IN SYRIA)

ROME (JUNE)

THE brevity of your letter makes me the briefer in mine, and, to speak the honest truth, I can think of nothing to say. For what is going on with us I know for certain is conveyed to you in the gazette, what is going on with you we don't know. For just as though Asia were under blockade, nothing reaches us except rumours of Dolabella being crushed. These rumours are persistent enough, but they as yet lack confirmation. As for us, when we thought the war finished, we have suddenly been brought into the most extreme anxiety by your relative Lepidus. Therefore convince yourself that the chief hope of the Republic rests on you and your forces. We have, it is true, trustworthy armies: but nevertheless, though everything should go well, as I hope it will, it is of great importance that you should come. For the hope of the Republic is small—I shrink from saying “none”—but whatever it is, it is plighted to the year of your consulship.¹

DCCCC (F XI, 15)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT CULARO?)

ROME (JUNE)

THOUGH your letter was most gratifying to me, yet it was still more gratifying that in the midst of your great stress of business you commissioned your colleague Plancus to write and make your excuses to me; which he did with due care.

¹ M. Brutus and C. Cassius having been prætors in B.C. 44 would naturally be candidates for the consulship in B.C. 42, and, if elected, be consuls in B.C. 41.

But to me nothing can be more touching than your politeness and careful attention. Your junction with your colleague and your harmonious relations announced in your joint despatch¹ were gladly welcomed by the senate and Roman people. For the rest, go on, my dear Brutus, and henceforth vie, not with others, but with yourself. I need write no more, especially to you, whose teaching I follow in being brief. I anxiously await a letter from you, and above all such a one as I hope and pray for.²

DCCCCI (F X, 22)

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (AT CULARO)

ROME (END OF JUNE)

IN you and your colleague is our every hope, with the blessing of heaven. With the cordial union existing between you, which was manifested in your joint despatch,¹ both the senate and the whole body of citizens were delighted. You mention in your letter to me the subject of the land commission.³ If the senate had been consulted on the matter I should have supported whoever made the proposal most complimentary to you—and that person would have certainly been myself. But when, owing to the slowness with which opinions were expressed, and the delay thus caused to business, the motions brought before the senate did not reach a settlement, it seemed best to myself and your brother Plancus to avail ourselves of the senatorial decree, as to which you will have learnt from your brother's letter who it was that prevented its being drawn up exactly in accordance with our wishes. But if you find anything wanting in that decree or in other things, still assure yourself that the affection for you among all loyalists is so great, that no kind of position can be imagined, however splendid, which is not at your disposal. I am exceedingly anxious to hear from you, and to hear such news as I most desire.

¹ See p. 303.

² That is, announcing victory.

³ See p. 290.

DCCCCII (F X, 26)

TO GAIUS FURNIUS (IN THE CAMP OF
PLANCUS)

ROME (END OF JUNE)

AFTER reading your letter in which you state that Narbonensis must be abandoned or a dangerous battle fought, the former course seemed to me the more formidable, which I am glad to hear has been avoided. You mention the cordial union of Plancus and Decimus Brutus: in that I place my strongest hope of victory. As to the loyalty of the Gauls, we shall some day learn, as you say, by whose exertions that has been roused. But, believe me, we already know it. Therefore, most delightful as your letter was, I felt a little vexed at the end of it. For you say that if the elections are fixed for August you will hurry home: if they are already over you will come still sooner, "that you may not any longer play the fool and risk your life as well." Oh, my dear Furnius, how completely you fail to grasp your position, though so readily understanding other people's! Do you really suppose that you are now a candidate, or do you contemplate hurrying home to the elections; or, if they are over, to live at your own house that—as you say—"you may not be the biggest fool alive and in danger as well"? I don't think these are your real sentiments; for I know your keenness for glory. But if you do really think as you write, I don't blame you more than I do my own opinion of you. Can it be that an untimely haste for an office of the most trivial and commonplace kind—if you get it in the same way as most people do—will withdraw you from the pursuit of such glorious deeds, for which all the world is rightly and sincerely praising you to the skies? The question, good heavens! is whether you become prætor at this election or the next, not whether you are to serve the Republic so as to be thought worthy above all men of every kind of honour! Is it that you are ignorant of the height to which you have climbed, or that you think

it worthless? If you are ignorant, I forgive you: the fault is ours. But if you are not, is any prætorship more attractive in your eyes than duty for which few, or than glory for which all, strive? On this point I and Calvisius—a man of very sound judgment and most devoted to you—daily find fault with you. As to the *comitia*—as you are depending on them—we are doing our best, thinking it for many reasons to be for the benefit of the Republic, to put them off till January. So then victory and health to you!

DCCCCIII (BRUT. I, 13)

M. IUNIUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

MACEDONIA, 1 JULY

THE fear which others entertain makes me nervous about M. Lepidus. If he has wrenched himself from us—which I hope it will turn out that people have suspected about him hurriedly and without good grounds—I beg and beseech you, Cicero, appealing to our close friendship and your kindness to me, to forget that my sister's children are the sons of Lepidus, and to consider that I have succeeded to the place of their father. If I can induce you to do that, there is certainly nothing that you will hesitate to undertake for them. Some people live on one sort of terms with their relations, others on another, but I cannot do enough for my sister's children to satisfy my affection or duty. What consideration is there, moreover, which either the loyalists can shew me—if I am but worthy of some consideration from them—or what can I promise my mother and sister and these children, if Brutus being their uncle has no weight with you and the senate against the fact of Lepidus being their father? I am neither able for anxiety and vexation to write at great length to you, nor ought I to do so. For in a matter of so much importance and so vitally affecting me, if I need words in order to move your interest and confirm your resolution, there is no hope that you will do what I wish or what you

are in duty bound to do. Therefore don't expect a lengthy petition from me. Only fix your eyes on me, who have a good right to obtain this service from you, either on private grounds from Cicero the man—and the closest of my friends—or from the consular, all private ties put aside. What you mean to do please write and tell me as soon as possible.

1 July, in camp.

DCCCCIV (BRUT. I, 12)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (BEGINNING OF JULY)

THOUGH I am immediately about to give a letter to Messalla Corvinus,¹ yet I could not let our friend Vetus reach you without a letter from me. The Republic, Brutus, is in the most imminent peril, and though victorious we are forced to begin the struggle once more. This is the result of the crime and infatuation of M. Lepidus. At such a time, while many things afflict me owing to the anxiety I feel for the Republic, yet nothing has given me greater vexation than to be unable to grant the petitions of your mother and sister: for as to yourself—which is of the greatest importance in my eyes—I think that I shall have no difficulty in satisfying you. The fact is that the position of Lepidus cannot on any consideration be separated from that of Antony, and in the judgment of all is even a worse one, both because he had been complimented by the senate with the most splendid honours, and had even sent an excellent despatch to the senate a few days before. Suddenly he not only receives the remnants of the enemy, but begins a war by land and sea with the greatest ferocity, the result of which is still in the balance. Therefore, while we are asked to shew consideration to his children, no guarantee is offered that we shall not undergo the most extreme penalties, if their father—

¹ The celebrated M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, the protector of Tibullus. See p. 76. For Vetus see p. 308.

which God forbid!—is victorious. Not indeed that I fail to consider how cruel it is that the crimes of parents should be expiated by the punishment of sons. But it is an excellent doctrine in law that affection for children should make parents more loyal to the Republic: therefore it is Lepidus that is cruel to his children, not he who declares Lepidus a public enemy. Nay, even if he laid down his arms and was condemned for *vis*—a prosecution in which he would have no defence to offer—his sons would have met with the same disaster by the confiscation of his property. However, what your mother and sister deprecate in the case of his children, that very thing and measures more cruel still are what Lepidus, Antony, and the rest denounce against us. Therefore our chief hope at this time is in you and your army. It is of very great importance both to the highest interests of the Republic and to your own glory and political position that—as I wrote to say before—you should come to Italy at the earliest possible opportunity: for the Republic stands sorely in need both of your material forces and of your counsel. I have gladly, in pursuance of what you said in your letter, opened my arms to Vetus as his affection and his extreme loyalty to you deserved, and I have found him most zealous and devoted both to yourself and the Republic. My son I hope shortly to see: for I feel confident that he will promptly come to Italy in your train.

DCCCCV (F XII, 10)

TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS (IN SYRIA)

ROME (BEGINNING OF JULY)

LEPIDUS, your marriage relation, and my friend, was on the 30th of June declared a public enemy by a unanimous vote of the senate, as well as all who with him deserted the Republic. To them, however, a chance of returning to their right minds was given up to the 1st of September. The senate was very resolute, but chiefly in reliance on your aid

There is, in fact, a very grave war in progress at the moment of my writing this, owing to the crime and instability of Lepidus. We daily hear satisfactory intelligence about Dolabella, but as yet by mere rumour—without definite source or confirmation. But though that is the case, still the letter which I have received from you dated from camp on the 7th of May has persuaded the whole city to believe that he has already been crushed, and that you are on your way to Italy with an army, so that, if affairs in these parts are settled as we wish, we may rely on your counsel and influence; and if there is any mishap—as will occur in war—we may rely on your army. This army, indeed, I will compliment by all the means in my power. The time for that will be when it has begun to be known what amount of aid it is likely to give to the Republic, or what amount it has already given. For at present we are only told of attempts—excellent indeed and most glorious—but we wait to hear of some decisive action: which for my own part I feel sure has taken place or is near doing so. Nothing can be more glorious than your valour and high spirit. Therefore we long to see you as soon as possible in Italy. We shall think that we have the Republic, if we have you. We had gained a splendid victory, had not Lepidus received Antony when he was without provisions or arms and in flight.¹ Therefore Antony was never such an object of dislike to the state as Lepidus is now. For the former stirred up war when the Republic was in a revolutionary state, the latter when victory had been crowned by peace. Opposed to this war we have the consuls-designate.² In them we have indeed high hopes, but owing to the uncertainty of the results of battles, we are in all the anxiety of suspense. Assure yourself, therefore, that everything depends on you and Marcus Brutus, and that you are both anxiously expected, Brutus indeed now momentarily. And if, as I hope, your arrival finds our enemies conquered, yet your authority will enable the Republic to

¹ Cicero's radical mistake was his view of Antony's retirement, as a flight of a helpless and demoralized force. It was, in fact, a masterly retreat, carried out with great skill and vigour, and with little or no loss; and before Antony came across Lepidus he had been strongly reinforced by Ventidius.

² Plancus and Decimus Brutus.

raise its head and once more to stand on some tolerable foundation. For there will be many things demanding reform, even if the Republic shall seem fairly well released from the criminal attempts of its enemies.

DCCCCVI (F X, 29)

TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS¹ (IN EXILE)

ROME, 6 JULY

OF my zeal for you and your restoration I think you have learnt from the letters of your friends, whom I know for certain that I have satisfied in the most complete manner possible; nor do I yield to them—eminently devoted as they are to you—in my wishes for your safety. They are obliged to yield to me the credit of having at this particular time greater power than they of furthering your recall. And this I have never ceased and never will cease to do. I have already to a very great degree succeeded, and have laid the foundations of your restoration. Be sure to keep a good heart and high courage, and trust me not to fail you in anything.

July 6.

DCCCCVII (F XI, 22)

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (AT CULARO?)

ROME, 6 JULY

I HAVE a friendship with Appius Claudius, son of Gaius, founded on many good services on his part and correspond-

¹ If this was the man who joined in the prosecution of Milo (*pro Mil.* § 59), and once threatened Quintus Cicero with prosecution (vol. i., p. 165), it is difficult to see why Cicero was interested in him. But the changes in these revolutionary times were many and unexpected.

ing ones on mine. I ask you with more than usual earnestness, for the sake either of your own kindness or for mine, that you determine that his safety shall be secured by your influence. I wish you, as you are known to be the most gallant of men, to be considered also the most merciful. It will be a great feather in your cap that a young man of the highest rank has been restored by your favour. His claim ought to be all the stronger from the fact that it was from filial feeling that he joined Antony in gratitude for his father's restitution. Wherefore, though you will have an excuse to plead that is not entirely sound, yet you will be able to bring one forward that at least is plausible. Your nod can retain in the full rights of citizenship a man of the highest birth, of the greatest ability, and one besides who is full of kindness and gratitude. I ask you to do this with a heartfelt earnestness beyond which I cannot go in making any request.

DCCCCVIII (BRUT. I, 14)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME, 11 JULY

YOURS was a very short letter. "Short" do I say? Rather it was not a letter at all. Brutus write to me in three lines at such a crisis as this? I would rather have written nothing at all. And you talk of not hearing from me! Which of your men ever came to you without a letter from me? And what epistle of mine had not something of weight in it? And if they have not reached you, I think that your family letters cannot have done so either. You say that you will give a longer letter to my son. So far, so good: but even this one ought to have had more matter in it. Now upon your writing to me about my son's quitting you, I immediately bustled my letter-carriers off with a letter to my son telling him that, even if he came to Italy, he should return to you: for nothing could be more gratifying to me and nothing more honourable to him. However, I had several times written to tell him that

the election to the sacred colleges had by great exertions on my part been put off to another year. This I had taken pains to do for the sake of my son, and also for that of Domitius, Cato, Lentulus, and the Bibuli—as I wrote to tell you. But of course when you sent me that stingy little note this was not yet known to you. Wherefore I urge you, my dear Brutus, with all my might not to send my son from your side, and to bring him home with you in person, which if you have any regard for the Republic, for which you were born, you ought to do at once. For the war has revived—and a very serious one—owing to the crime of Lepidus: while Cæsar's army, which was in an excellent state, is not only of no service, but even makes it necessary for your army to be summoned. If that once reaches Italy there will not be a single citizen, deserving to be called such, who will not find his way to your camp. It is true that Decimus Brutus has effected a splendid junction with Plancus, yet you are not ignorant how uncertain are men's feelings when infected with party spirit, how uncertain the results of battles. Nay, even if we conquer, as I hope, nevertheless the public service will require a great deal of guidance from your wisdom and your influence. Come to our help, therefore, in God's name, and that as soon as possible: and assure yourself that you did not do better service to your country by the Ides of March, on which you shook the yoke of slavery from your fellow citizens, than you will do if you now arrive in good time.

11 July.

DCCCCIX (BRUT. I, 15)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME (MIDDLE OF JULY)

You have Messalla with you. What letter, therefore, can I write with such minute care as to enable me to explain to you what is being done and what is occurring in public affairs, more thoroughly than he will describe them to you, who has at once the most intimate knowledge of everything,

and the talent for unfolding and conveying it to you in the best possible manner? For beware of thinking, Brutus—for though it is unnecessary for me to write to you what you know already, yet I cannot pass over in silence such eminence in every kind of greatness—beware of thinking, I say, that he has any parallel in honesty and firmness, care and zeal for the Republic. So much so that in him eloquence—in which he is extraordinarily eminent—scarcely seems to offer any opportunity for praise. Yet in this accomplishment itself his wisdom is made more evident; with such excellent judgment and with so much acuteness has he practised himself in the most genuine style of rhetoric. Such also is his industry, and so great the amount of midnight labour that he bestows on this study, that the chief thanks would not seem to be due to natural genius, great as it is in his case.¹ But my affection carries me away: for it is not the purpose of this letter to praise Messalla, especially to Brutus, to whom his excellence is not less known than it is to me, and these particular accomplishments of his which I am praising even better. Grieved as I was to let him go from my side, my one consolation was that in going to you who are to me a second self, he was performing a duty and following the path of the truest glory. But enough of this. I now come, after a long interval of time, to a certain letter of yours, in which, while paying me many compliments, you find one fault with me—that I was excessive and, as it were, extravagant in proposing votes of honour. That is your criticism: another's, perhaps, might be that I was too stern in inflicting punishment and exacting penalties, unless by chance you blame me for both. If that is so, I desire that my principle in both these things should be very clearly known to you. And I do not rely solely on the dictum of Solon, who was at once the wisest of the Seven and the only

¹ According to Eusebius, Messalla was born in B.C. 59. He would in that case be now only between fifteen and sixteen, and could not possibly have done anything to justify this panegyric or to account for it. Accordingly, it has been argued that he was born in B.C. 70, one of the many expedients that have had to be resorted to to prove the genuineness of these letters. He survived to make the motion in the senate (B.C. 2) conferring on Augustus the title of *pater patriæ* (Suet. *Aug.* 58). As, however, he was contemporary with young Marcus at Athens, he was probably born about B.C. 65. See vol. iii., p. 225.

lawgiver among them. He said that a state was kept together by two things—reward and punishment. Of course there is a certain moderation to be observed in both, as in everything else, and what we may call a golden mean in both these things. But I have no intention to dilate on such an important subject in this place.

But what has been my aim during this war in the motions I have made in the senate I think it will not be out of place to explain. After the death of Cæsar and your ever memorable Ides of March, Brutus, you have not forgotten what I said had been omitted by you and your colleagues, and what a heavy cloud I declared to be hanging over the Republic. A great pest had been removed by your means, a great blot on the Roman people wiped out, immense glory in truth acquired by yourselves: but an engine for exercising kingly power had been put into the hands of Lepidus and Antony, of whom the former was the more fickle of the two, the latter the more corrupt, but both of whom dreaded peace and were enemies to quiet. Against these men, inflamed with the ambition of revolutionizing the state, we had no protecting force to oppose. For the fact of the matter was this: the state had become roused as one man to maintain its liberty; I at the time was even excessively warlike; you, perhaps with more wisdom, quitted the city which you had liberated, and when Italy offered you her services declined them. Accordingly, when I saw the city in the possession of parricides, and that neither you nor Cassius could remain in it with safety, and that it was held down by Antony's armed guards, I thought that I too ought to leave it: for a city held down by traitors, with all opportunity of giving aid cut off, was a shocking spectacle. But the same spirit as always had animated me, staunch to the love of country, did not admit the thought of a departure from its dangers. Accordingly, in the very midst of my voyage to Achaia, when in the period of the Etesian gales a south wind—as though remonstrating against my design—had brought me back to Italy, I saw you at Velia and was much distressed: for you were on the point of leaving the country, Brutus—leaving it, I say, for our friends the Stoics deny that wise men ever “flee.” As soon as I reached Rome I at once threw myself in opposition to Antony's treason and insane policy: and having roused his wrath against me, I

began entering upon a policy truly Brutus-like—for this is the distinctive mark of your family—that of freeing my country. The rest of the story is too long to tell, and must be passed over by me, for it is about myself. I will only say this much: that this young Cæsar, thanks to whom we still exist, if we would confess the truth, was a stream from the fountain-head of my policy. To him I voted honours, none indeed, Brutus, that were not his due, none that were not inevitable. For directly we began the recovery of liberty, when the divine excellence of even Decimus Brutus had not yet bestirred itself sufficiently to give us an indication of the truth, and when our sole protection depended on the boy who had shaken Antony from our shoulders, what honour was there that he did not deserve to have decreed to him? However, all I then proposed for him was a complimentary vote of thanks, and that too expressed with moderation. I also proposed a decree conferring *imperium* on him, which, although it seemed too great a compliment for one of his age, was yet necessary for one commanding an army—for what is an army without a commander with *imperium*?¹ Philippus proposed a statue; Servius at first proposed a licence to stand for office before the regular time. Servilius afterwards proposed that the time should be still farther curtailed. At that time nothing was thought too good for him.

But somehow men are more easily found who are liberal at a time of alarm, than grateful when victory has been won. For when that most joyful day of Decimus Brutus's relief from blockade had dawned on the Republic and happened also to be his birthday, I proposed that the name of Brutus should be entered in the *fasti* under that date. And in that I followed the example of our ancestors, who paid this honour to the woman Laurentia, at whose altar in the Velabrum you pontiffs are accustomed to offer sacrifice. And when I proposed this honour to Brutus I wished that there should be in the *fasti* an eternal memorial of a most welcome victory: and yet on that very day I discovered that the ill-disposed in the senate were somewhat in a majority over the grateful. In the course of those same days I lavished honours—if you like that word—upon the dead Hirtius, Pansa, and

¹ This is founded on 5 *Phil.* § 45.

even Aquila. And who has any fault to find with that, unless he be one who, no sooner an alarm is over, forgets the past danger? There was added to this grateful memorial of a benefit received some consideration of what would be for the good of posterity also ; for I wished that there should exist some perpetual record of the popular execration of our most ruthless enemies. I suspect that the next step does not meet with your approbation. It was disapproved by your friends, who are indeed most excellent citizens, but inexperienced in public business. I mean my proposing an ovation for Cæsar. For myself, however—though I am perhaps wrong, and I am not a man who believes his own way necessarily right—I think that in the course of this war I never took a more prudent step. The reason for this I must not reveal, lest I should seem to have a sense of favours to come rather than to be grateful for those received. I have said too much already : let us look at other points. I proposed honours to Decimus Brutus, and also to Lucius Plancus. Those indeed are noble spirits whose spur to action is glory : but the senate also is wise to avail itself of any means—provided that they are honourable—by which it thinks that a particular man can be induced to support the Republic. But—you say—I am blamed in regard to Lepidus : for, having placed his statue on the rostra, I also voted for its removal.¹ I tried by paying him a compliment to recall him from his insane policy. The infatuation of that most unstable of men rendered my prudence futile. Yet all the same more good was done by demolishing the statue of Lepidus, than harm by putting it up.

Enough about honours ; now I must say a few words about penalties. For I have gathered from frequent expressions in your letters that in regard to those whom you have conquered in war, you desire that your clemency should be praised.² I hold, indeed, that you do and say nothing but what becomes a philosopher. But to omit the punishment of a crime—for that is what “pardoning” amounts to—even if it is endurable in other cases, is mischievous in a war like this. For there has been no civil war, of all that have

¹ When Lepidus was declared a public enemy. See p. 300.

² See p. 216.

occurred in the state within my memory, in which there was not certain to be some form of constitution remaining, whichever of the two sides prevailed. In this war, if we are victorious, I should not find it easy to affirm what kind of constitution we are likely to have ; if we are conquered, there will certainly never be any. I therefore proposed severe measures against Antony, and severe ones also against Lepidus, and not so much out of revenge as in order that I might for the present prevent unprincipled men by this terror from attacking their country, and might for the future establish a warning for all who were minded to imitate their infatuation. However, this proposal was not mine more than it was everybody's. The point in it which had the appearance of cruelty was that the penalty extended to the children who did not deserve any. But that is a thing of long standing and characteristic of all states. For instance, the children of Themistocles were in poverty. And if the same penalty attaches to citizens legally condemned in court, how could we be more indulgent to public enemies ? What, moreover, can anyone say against me when he must confess that, had that man conquered, he would have been still more revengeful towards me ?

Here you have the principles which dictated my senatorial proposals, at any rate in regard to this class of honours and penalties. For, in regard to other matters, I think you have been told what opinions I have expressed and what votes I have given. But all this is not so very pressing. What is really pressing, Brutus, is that you should come to Italy with your army as soon as possible. There is the greatest anxiety for your arrival. Directly you reach Italy all classes will flock to you. For whether we win the victory—and we had in fact won a most glorious one, only that Lepidus set his heart on ruining everything and perishing himself with all his friends—there will be need of your counsel in establishing some form of constitution. And even if there is still some fighting left to be done, our greatest hope is both in your personal influence and in the material strength of your army. But make haste, in God's name ! You know the importance of seizing the right moment, and of rapidity. What pains I am taking in the interests of your sister's children, I hope you know from the letters of your mother

and sister.¹ In undertaking their cause I shew more regard to your affection, which is very precious to me, than, as some think, to my own consistency. But there is nothing in which I more wish to be and to seem consistent than in loving you.

DCCCCX (BRUT. I, 18)

TO M. IUNIUS BRUTUS (IN MACEDONIA)

ROME, 27 JULY

AFTER I had often urged you by letter to come as soon as possible to the aid of the state, and to bring your army into Italy, and when I thought that your relatives had no doubt on that subject, I was asked by that most prudent and careful lady your mother—whose every thought and care are directed and devoted to you—to call on her on the 24th of July, which, as in duty bound, I at once did. On my arrival, I found Casca, Labeo, and Scaptius² there. Well, she opened the subject and asked me my opinion, whether we should ask you to come to Italy, and whether we thought that to your advantage, or whether it were better that you should put it off and stay where you were. I answered—as was my real opinion—that it was of the highest advantage to your position and reputation to bring help at the first possible moment to the tottering and almost prostrate Republic. For what disaster do you think is wanting in a war, in which the victorious armies refuse to pursue a flying enemy, and in which an officer with *imperium* in full possession of his rights, enjoying the most splendid honours and the most ample fortune, with wife and children, with you and Cassius related to him by marriage, has yet proclaimed war on the Republic? How can I use the words “in such

¹ Servilia and his half-sister Iunia, wife of Lepidus.

² Q. Antistius Labeo—one of the assassins—caused a slave to kill him in his tent after the battle at Philippi (App. B. C. iv. 135). For Casca see p. 249. M. Scaptius had carried on a banking business in Cilicia, and was the agent of Brutus there. See vol. ii., pp. 128, 135-57.

unanimity of senate and people," when such fatal mischief abides within our very walls? But the bitterest sorrow which is affecting me as I write this is that, whereas the Republic accepted me as a surety for that youth, or, I might almost say, that boy, I seem scarcely able to make my promise good. Truly, a guarantee for another's feeling and sentiment, especially in affairs of the greatest importance, is more onerous and difficult than one for money. For money can be paid, and a loss of property is bearable. But how are you to make good what you have guaranteed to the state, unless he for whom you undertook the obligation is willing that it should be fulfilled?¹ However, I shall retain even him, I hope, in spite of many adverse influences. For he seems to have a character of his own, though he is at the pliable time of life, and there are many prepared to corrupt him, who hope that, by holding out before him the glamour of false honour, the sight of a naturally good intelligence may be blinded. Accordingly, to my other labours has been added the task of applying every engine to the keeping of a hold upon the young man, that I may not incur a reputation for rashness. However, where is the rashness? I bound the man, for whom I gave the guarantee, more tightly than I did myself; nor can the state regret my having given a guarantee for one who in the actual campaign was rendered more resolute by my promise, as well as from his own disposition. But, unless I am mistaken, the greatest difficulty in the Republic is the want of money. For the loyalists grow daily more callous to the call for property tax. All that was collected by the one per cent. income tax, owing to the shameless returns made by the wealthy, is exhausted by the bounties given to two legions: whereas endless expenses are hanging over us, both for the armies now protecting us, and for yours—for our friend Cassius seems able to come home very well provided. But of this and many other things I desire to talk to you when we meet, and that as soon as possible. About your sister's sons,² Brutus, I did not wait for you to write. As a matter of fact, the state of the

¹ That is, in the case of a guarantee of conduct, which necessarily depends on the persons for whom the guarantee is given being willing to conform to a certain standard of behaviour. The allusion is to Octavian.

² The sons of Lepidus and Iunia.

times itself—for the war will be protracted—guarantees that the case will be left for you to decide. But from the very first, though I could not divine the long continuance of the war, I pleaded the cause of the boys in the senate, as I think you can have learnt from your mother's letter.¹ Nor will there ever arise any circumstance in which I shall not, even at the risk of my life, say and do whatever I think is your wish and to your interest.

DCCCCXI (F X, 24)

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS TO CICERO (AT ROME)

CAMP NEAR CULARO, 28 JULY

I CANNOT refrain from thanking you in view of the course of events and of your services. But, by heaven! I blush to do it. For an intimacy as close as that which you have wished me to have with you seems not to require any formal thanks, nor do I willingly pay the poor recompense of words in return for your supreme kindness, and I would rather, when we meet, prove my gratitude by my respect, my obedience to your wishes, and my constant attentions. But if to live on is my fate, in this same respect, obedience to your wishes, and constant attentions, I will surpass all your beloved friends and even your devoted relatives. For whether your affection for me and your opinion of me are likely to bring me greater reputation in perpetuity or greater daily pleasure, I should find it hard to decide.

You have concerned yourself as to the bounties to the soldiers; whom I wished to be rewarded by the senate, not to enhance my own power—for I am conscious of entertaining no thoughts except for the common benefit—but first of all, because in my opinion they deserved it; next, because I wished them to be still more closely attached to

¹ This and the assertion in the previous letter seem directly contradictory to Letter DCCCCIV, p. 314.

the Republic in view of all eventualities; and lastly, in order that I might guarantee their continuing as completely proof against all attempts to tamper with their loyalty, as they have been up to this time.

As yet we have kept everything here *in statu quo*. And this policy of ours, though I know how eager men are and with reason for a decisive victory, is yet, I hope, approved of by you. For if any disaster happens to these armies, the Republic has no great forces in reserve to resist any sudden attack or raid of the parricides. The amount of our forces I presume is known to you. In my camp there are three legions of veterans, one of recruits perhaps the finest of all: in the camp of Decimus Brutus there is one veteran legion, a second of two-years'-service men, eight of recruits. Therefore the whole force taken together is very strong in numbers, in stamina inferior. For how much it is safe to trust to raw levies in the field we have had too frequent experience. To the strength of these armies of ours, if there was added either the African army which consists of veterans, or that of Cæsar, we should hazard the safety of the Republic on a battle without any uneasiness. Now, as to Cæsar, we see that he is considerably the nearer of the two.¹ I have therefore never ceased importuning him by letter, and he has uniformly replied that he is coming without delay: while all the time I perceive that he has given up that idea and has taken up some other scheme. Nevertheless, I have sent our friend Furnius¹ to him with a message and a letter, in case he may be able to do some good. You know, my dear Cicero, that in regard to love for Cæsar you and I are partners, either because, being one of Iulius Cæsar's intimates, I was obliged—while he was alive—to look after the boy and shew him affection; or because he was himself, as far as I could make out, of a very orderly and kindly disposition; or because, after such a remarkable friendship as existed between me and Iulius Cæsar, it seems discreditable that I should not regard as a son one who was adopted into that position by his decision and by that of your house alike.² Yet after all—and whatever I write

¹ Gaius Furnius. See p. 311.

² For the adoption of Octavian, see p. 21. By *vestro* Plancus seems

to you I write^{*} rather in sorrow than in anger—the fact that Antony is alive to-day, that Lepidus is with him, that they have far from contemptible armies, that they are hopeful and bold—for all these they may thank Cæsar. I will not go back to old matters, but from the moment that he gave out that he was coming to me, if he had chosen to come, the war would at once have either been put an end to, or, to their very great loss, have been thrust back into Spain, which is most hostile in sentiment to them. What idea or whose advice has withdrawn him from such great glory, which was at the same time required by his interests and needful for his safety, and has turned his attention to the thought of a two-months' consulship, entailing a great and general panic, and demanded in a peremptory and offensive manner—I cannot conjecture. It seems to me that in this matter his relations could exercise considerable influence both for his sake and for that of the Republic: most of all, as I think, could you also do so, since he is more obliged to you than anyone else is except myself—for I shall never forget that the obligations I owe you are exceedingly great and numerous. I commissioned Furnius to urge these considerations upon him. But if I prove to have as great an influence with him as I ought to have, I shall have done him a great service himself. Meanwhile we are maintaining the war at a disadvantage, because we do not think an engagement the safest solution of the difficulty, and yet will not allow the Republic to suffer greater loss by our retirement. But if either Cæsar has bethought himself, or the African legions have come promptly,¹ we will relieve you of anxiety on this side. I beg you to continue to honour me with your regard, and to believe that I am peculiarly at your service.

28 July, in camp.

to refer to the senate, which, though the curiate law for the formal adoption had not yet been passed, yet practically acknowledged the adoption of Octavian in his great-uncle's will by the wording of its decrees.

¹ The African legions came from Cornificius, but they almost directly joined Octavian, which was the last blow to the hopes of Cicero and the senate (App. B. C. iii. 91, 92).

APPENDIX

CICERO TO OCTAVIAN¹

IF your legions, which are most bitterly hostile to my name and to that of the Roman people, had left it possible for me to come into the senate and hold debate in the presence of the Republic, I would have done so, and not so much with pleasure as from necessity. For no remedies applied to wounds are so painful as those that are healing. But since, being hemmed round with armed cohorts, the senate cannot decree anything expressing its real sentiments except that it is in terror, since in the Capitol there are military standards, since in the city soldiers roam at will, since in the Campus Martius a camp is pitched, since the whole of Italy is distracted by legions enrolled to secure our freedom, but brought here to enslave us, and by the cavalry of foreign tribes—I will for the present yield you possession of the forum, the senate-house, and the most sacred temples of the immortal gods, in which, as liberty first revives and then is trampled out, the senate is consulted about nothing, has countless fears, and only passes decrees to flatter. Presently, when the state of things seems to demand it, I shall quit the city, which, once preserved as it was by me that it might be free, I shall never endure to see enslaved. I shall quit a life which, although filled with anxiety, yet, if destined to profit the Republic, consoles me with a good hope of future fame. If that hope is taken from me, I shall fall without a moment's hesitation, and shall depart, though taking care to make it clear that in my judgment fortune and not courage has deserted me. But there is one thing I will not omit as a proof of my recent wrong, as a record of past outrage, and a declaration of the feeling of those that are away: since I am prevented from remonstrating with you face to face, I will do so in your absence in the defence of the Republic and in my own.

¹ This rhetorical exercise was evidently composed by some one who knew the general facts of the last year of Cicero's life well. But it is not a successful imitation of his style, nor is there any conceivable juncture of affairs at which Cicero would have ventured to write thus to Octavian.

And I say "in my own defence," since my safety is either useful to the Republic or at least closely bound up with the public safety. For in the name of the immortal gods—unless by chance it is vain for me to appeal to those, whose ears and hearts are turned from us—and in the name of the fortune of the Roman people, which though hostile to us was once propitious, and, as I hope, will be so again—who is there so lost to all feelings of manhood, who is there so bitterly hostile to the name and dwelling-places of this city, as to be able to ignore what is happening, or not to grieve at it, or, if he can by no means remedy the public disasters, not to avoid his own danger by death?

For, to begin at the beginning and to trace events to the end, and to compare the last with the first, what morrow has dawned on the Roman people that was not more disastrous than the day before, and what hour that was not more calamitous than that which it succeeded? Marcus Antonius, a man of great courage—I only wish he had been wiser!—when Gaius Cæsar had by an act of the greatest resolution, though with no happy results, been removed from his despotic rule over the Republic, had conceived the ambition for a more regal primacy than a free state could tolerate. He was throwing away the public money, exhausting the treasury, reducing the revenues, presenting cities and whole tribes with immunity in virtue of Cæsar's memoranda. He was playing the part of dictator, imposing his laws upon us: and while forbidding a dictator to be named, he himself assumed the authority of a king while he was still consul, and had set his heart on controlling all the provinces by himself. What had we to expect or look for from a man who thought the province of Macedonia, which Cæsar when victorious had taken as his own,¹ as too mean for him? You stood forward then as the champion of our liberty, the best that was possible at the time—and oh! that neither our opinion of you nor your own good faith had been forfeited!—and having hired veterans to form a body of soldiers, and having induced two legions² to abandon the destruction of their country for its preservation, when the Republic was now in all but a desperate and utterly prostrate position, you suddenly raised it by your own resources. What honours, before you demanded them, on a greater scale than you desired, more numerous than you hoped, did not the senate bestow upon you? It gave you the *fascēs* that it might have a defender with full authority, not that he might by this *imperium* take arms against itself. It gave you the title of *imperator*, when the army of the enemy had been repulsed, by

¹ After the battle of Pharsalia Cæsar seems to have ruled Macedonia and Greece by legates, first as a mere military occupation under Fufius, and then in a more regular way under Servius Sulpicius Rufus (vol. iii., p. 136).

² The fourth and the Martian.

way of paying you a compliment, not that that fugitive army, shattered by the slaughter which it had itself incurred,¹ might hail you *imperator*. It decreed you a statue in the forum, a place in the senate, the highest office before the legal age. If there is anything else that can be given, it will add it. What is there greater than this that you desire to take? But if on the other hand you have had every kind of honour bestowed on you before the legal age, beyond the ordinary usage, beyond even the reach of human nature, why do you curtail the authority of the senate as though it were ungrateful, or forgetful of your good services? Is it wanton cruelty or deliberate crime on your part? Whither have we sent you? From whom are you returning? Against whom have we armed you? On whom are you meditating war? From whom are you withdrawing an army? Against whom are you drawing out your line of battle? Why is the public enemy left untouched, and the citizen attacked as an enemy? Why in the very midst of your march is your camp pushed farther from the adversary and nearer the city? Their hope is perforce our terror. Oh, how unwise I have always been, and what an ill-grounded reputation has mine turned out to be! How greatly, oh people of Rome, have you been deceived in me! What an old age of disaster and ruin! Oh, what a disgrace to my grey hairs, when life is all but gone and dotage has set in! *I—I* have led the senate to its bloody doom! *I* have deceived the Republic! *I* have forced the senate to lay violent hands upon itself, when I said that Iuno smiled on your birth, and that your mother had brought forth a golden age!² In reality the fates were foretelling you to be the Paris of your country, destined to devastate the city with fire, Italy with war; to pitch your camp in the temples of the immortal gods; and to hold the senate in a camp. What a miserable upsetting of the constitution—how sudden and rapid and complicated! Who is likely to arise with a genius capable of narrating these events so as to make them seem fact and not fiction? Who will there ever be of such quick intelligence as not to think that events which have been recorded with the most absolute truthfulness only resemble the incidents of a drama? For think of Antony declared a public enemy; of a consul-designate, and he too a father of the state, besieged by him; of you setting out to relieve the consul and crush the enemy; of the enemy being put to flight by you and the consul released from the siege; and

¹ *Sua cæde*. Perhaps it should be *tua*, "by the slaughter you inflicted on it."

² For Cicero's dream of a child let down from heaven by a gold chain, see Suet. *Aug.* 94; Dio, 45, 12; Plut. *Cic.* 44. This seems a confused reference to it.

then shortly afterwards of this same routed enemy invited back as your coheir to receive, after the death of the Republic, the property of the Roman people; and of the consul-designate again surrounded where he had no walls to defend himself, but only streams and mountains. Who will attempt to give a picture of these events? Who will be bold enough to believe them? Let me be once pardoned for having made a mistake; let confession atone for an error. For I will speak frankly. Would to heaven, Antony, we had not driven you away as our despot, rather than have received this one! Not that any servitude is a thing to be wished, but because the condition of a slave is rendered less degrading by the rank of his master; while of two evils the greater is to be shunned, the less is to be chosen. He after all used to ask for what he desired to carry off, you wrench it from our hands. He sought to obtain a province when he was consul, you set your heart on one when a private citizen. He established courts and carried laws to protect the bad, you to destroy the best. He protected the Capitol from bloodshed and the incendiary fire of slaves, you wish to wipe out everything in blood and flame. If the man who granted provinces to Cassius and the Bruti, and those other guardians of the Roman name, acted as despot, what will he do who deprives them of life? If the man who ejected them from the city was a tyrant, what are we to call the man, who does not leave them even a place of exile? Therefore, if the buried ashes of our ancestors have any consciousness, if all sensation is not destroyed along with the body in one and the same fire, what will one of our people say who has most recently departed to that eternal home, when questioned as to the present fortunes of the Roman people? What kind of news will the famous men of old—the Africani, the Maximi, the Paulli, and the Scipiones—receive about their posterity? What will they hear about their country, which they adorned with spoils and triumphs? Will it be that there was a youth eighteen years old, whose grandfather was a money-changer,¹ his father a touting witness,² both in truth making a precarious livelihood, but one of them up to old age so that he could not deny it, the other from boyhood so that he could not but confess it: and that this youth was plundering the Republic? And that, too, though he had no provinces subdued and added to the empire, and no ancestral position to give him a claim to that overweening power? Though his good looks had gained him money by his shame and a noble name stained by unchastity? Though he had forced old

¹ Suet. *Aug.* 4.

² Apparently men who hang about the forum ready for a consideration to make depositions or act as formal guarantees, like the touts at Doctors' Commons described in *Pickwick*.

gladiators of Iulius, reduced by wounds and age—the starveling remainders of Cæsar's training school—to accept the wand of dismissal,¹ surrounded by whom he wrought general havoc, spared no one, lived for his own enjoyment, and held the Republic as his private possession, as though in marriage with a rich wife he had received it as a legacy? The two Decii will hear that those citizens are slaves, to secure whose supremacy over their enemies they devoted themselves for victory. Gaius Marius, who refused to have even a common soldier who was unchaste,² will hear that we are the slaves of an immoral despot. Brutus will hear that the people, whom he first and afterwards his descendants liberated from tyrants, has been consigned to slavery as the price of shame. These reports, if by no one else, will be quickly carried down to them by myself. For as I shall be unable to escape your tyrannies while living, I have determined to fly from life and from them at the same time.

¹ He seems to mean "to accept dismissal from the gladiatorial school and serve him as a bodyguard." Cp. vol. ii., p. 251.

² Plutarch, *Marius*, 14.

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